

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1878.

## The Week.

SILVER is already so plentiful that it is becoming a heavy burden to rich and poor. A good many of the larger employers, especially in the West, have taken to paying the wages of the work-people in it, thus illustrating afresh the old and well-known rule that when currency begins to depreciate, the laborer is the first to feel the effects of it; or, in other words, that when there is any "cheap money" afloat the poor man, to his cost and sorrow, gets more of it than any one else. Now it begins to afflict the storekeepers and the banks, and there promises to be a rising against it. Some dealers have already begun to protect themselves against it by refusing to receive more than ten dollars of it in a single payment. Others, who deal in the necessities of life on a close margin of profit, are putting up their prices, and, as in the old days of fluctuating gold, the money-brokers are the only persons whom the confusion is helping. A meeting of the Board of Trade, called by three hundred leading firms, was held on Monday to take these facts into consideration, and a memorial to Congress was adopted describing the situation, and asking that sapient body to consider what it will be if the Bland Bill is passed. Resolutions were also passed recommending the associated banks of this city, in case the Bland Bill passes, to "take measures, as a protection to themselves and the community, to consider gold values as the standard or par, and quote all other values at a discount or premium thereon as the case may be, thereby making gold coin the monetary standard of value throughout the community."

We may add that the phenomena which we are now witnessing, or about to witness, here, were to be witnessed in Canada after the subsidiary silver had been driven out of the United States by the greenbacks. Most of it went over the border, and the Canadian tills and safes became so glutted with it that the dealers had to protect themselves as ours are now doing. That is, when you went into a store in Montreal or Quebec and asked the price of an article, you were asked what you were going to pay in—if in silver, the price was so much; if in gold or bank-bills, so much. As the silver had to be got rid of by selling it to brokers at a discount, this discount at least had to be added to the price. This state of facts is puzzling the local silver-men a good deal, and a majority of them have reflected so little on the subject that the most familiar and most easily predicted occurrences of the market take them by surprise. Some of them say that "silver happens to be plentiful about here (the great money centre of the Union) just now," and that the glut is due to "the refusal of the Government to accept its own coin," and offer other nursery explanations which are neither worth repeating nor discussing. The struggle between them and the commercial community begins to remind one of the struggles the merchants in some of the South American States used to have to protect themselves against the savage gauchos of the pampas, who despised anybody who was not equal to one night's gallop, and did not mind what he said on any subject.

The glut of silver has made its appearance as far west as Minnesota, and the merchants are complaining of it all over the State. By way of cheering them up, the Cincinnati *Commercial* explains to them that it is all owing to the fact that "the machinery of the mint and of the whole Treasury Department is in the hands of persons unfriendly to silver"; that is, there is a coolness between them and silver. Feeling lonesome and friendless, accordingly, in Washington, silver wanders off to country stores and banks, and lodges in the tills and vaults, sad and sorrowful. Put kind hearts in charge of the mint and the Treasury, who would smile on silver

and receive it, and it would stay in that neighborhood and not bother the merchant elsewhere. The cold and cynical "goldites" will probably deny that money circulates by love and friendship, but the lively Chicago and Cincinnati financiers know better. This suggests the question whether we ought not to have women in charge of the mint and the Treasury, and not women only, but mothers? In fact, does not one need to be a mother to know how to manage silver, and make it the affectionate and faithful currency which the *Commercial* says it is sure to become, if not harshly treated?

The chief incident in Congress during the week has been the report of the new tariff by the Committee on Ways and Means. Though no measure is more certain to undergo radical changes before enactment, we have endeavored in another column to give a fair idea of its complexion. The House had the day before voted against reducing the present tax on whiskey. On Monday an Ohio member, Mr. MacMahon, who it is needless to say is a Democrat, moved to suspend the rules in order to instruct the Committee on Ways and Means to report in hot haste an income tax. He was disturbed by the present condition of public distress, and thought it important that "the wealthy of the country should bear a fair proportion of the burdens of taxation." In spite of the geographical quarter from which this proposal emanated, the requisite two-thirds could not be obtained for it; but as the spirit of the mover was the same as that which actuates the inflationists, repudiationists, silver-men, and communists who now control the House of Representatives, it mustered 165 yeas to 88 nays. The South and West were almost solid in favor of it. On Wednesday week the Senate ratified a treaty with Samoa, which happily commits us to no protectorate or other form of responsibility for the islanders and does secure some commercial and naval advantages. The Bland Bill has been the steady occupation of the Senate, but to enumerate all the amendments which must be got out of the way before a vote can be taken on it would surely be a thankless task. On Monday Mr. Bayard took manly ground against it, and Mr. Beck, to the surprise of some of his colleagues, moved an amendment for the appreciation to the full value of the silver dollar of the halves, quarters, and dimes. He took occasion to manifest his sympathy with Mr. Matthews's indifference to "abroad" by saying that "he did not want any foreign Government, or the citizens of any foreign Government, to have dealings with our mints." But he did not indicate the way in which he would prevent the German Government from selling our mint its cast-off silver. On Tuesday, Mr. Eaton spoke against the bill, but proposed a silver dollar containing six more grains (440) than Senator Christiancy's. In both houses petitions were presented to the effect that the unexpended balance of the Chinese indemnity fund of 1856, which equitably does not belong to the United States, should be applied through a commission to the relief of the famine-stricken districts of Northern China.

Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, has again distinguished himself by an able speech in the Senate on the Silver Bill, which goes over the ground very thoroughly, and which, with the recent speech of Mr. Edmunds, would make an excellent document for popular distribution. Mr. Bayard has rendered such good service on the currency question and in defence of the public credit that he now has all the outward marks of a Republican as depicted in Republican newspapers, and the only reason he is not acknowledged to be one is that he holds certain opinions on questions and events now purely historical. But the line of demarcation between such men as he and that small portion of the Republican party which remains true to Republican traditions, cannot last very much longer with safety. The longer the silver agitation lasts the more clearly it appears that it is but part of a communistic movement directed against all accumulated property, and against the influence of skill, experience, and training

in public affairs. The income-tax bill is but a branch of the same undertaking, and the mischief and danger of it lie not so much in the objects it now aims at as in the spirit in which it is prosecuted, the barbaric hostility to civilization it exhibits, and the contempt for all the great traditions of American politics. To resist it the best men of all parties must unite, whatever be their opinions about the bygone and the irreversible.

The trial of Anderson, of the Louisiana Returning Board, continues at New Orleans; but it is difficult, owing to the meagreness of the reports of the evidence received by telegraph, to say whether the case made out against him is strong or not. The Democratic papers naturally declare it to be conclusive, and his conviction seems probable. Wells has surrendered. Instead of having come on to Washington, he had been concealed in the neighborhood of New Orleans, waiting, he says, for a new jury panel to be made up, and probably, too, for the result of his application to Judge Bradley for the removal of his case to the Federal courts. This Judge Bradley has refused, with the concurrence of the other judges of the Supreme Court, and for reasons which we hope will by and by work their way into the heads of the opponents of the President's "policy." He decides once more, as Chief-Justice Waite decided in South Carolina, that the Fourteenth Amendment only protects citizens against unjust State legislation, and not against the misconduct of State officers. Wells's allegation, therefore, that he could not have a fair trial under the State jury law was, in Judge Bradley's eyes, refuted by an examination of the law, which seemed unobjectionable, and he held that for any impropriety in the execution of the law the Federal courts supplied no remedy.

There are still reports afloat that Wells, and perhaps others of the Board, will "develop" if they do not receive "protection" from Washington; but how the protection could be given has not been explained, and the persons whom the "developments" would, it is said, affect are not alarmed. Governor Nicholls is said to be opposed to the prosecution, and many Northern papers call it a breach of faith to try these men for "political offences." It may be a breach of faith on somebody's part to try them; but we trust it will never be acknowledged by either lawyers or politicians that forgery and falsification are "political offences." They are criminal offences, whatever be the subject-matter with which they deal, whether the Presidential chair or \$10. The impropriety of making custom-house officers of Wells and Anderson becomes plainer every day. Men who had so completely forfeited the confidence of the community, whether justly or unjustly, ought never to have been taken into Government employ. It appears on the trial that every one of the Returning Board clerks, some of them pattern rascals, was given a place in the custom-house also.

It was a striking but not surprising fact that such native Southerners as went into business with the carpet-baggers outdid their foreign allies in the depth and breadth of their corruption. The latest revelation on this subject touches Mr. M. C. Butler, noted for his connection with the Hamburg massacre and recently elected United States Senator from South Carolina. He seems, indeed, to be up to his neck in one of the worst jobs of the carpet-baggers. In 1871 the carpet-bag bonded debt had already been contracted, and it was well known to be fraudulent as well as monstrous. A taxpayers' convention was held in 1871, composed chiefly of Conservatives, which we noticed at the time; it was of course an object for the carpet-baggers to obtain its endorsement for their debt. Accordingly Butler and one Gary, both influential members of the body, entered into a contract to get this endorsement, and to take their pay for it in the shape of ten per cent. of the profits to be made in a speculation in the bonds, which were expected to rise handsomely under the action of the convention. The speculation failed, because the bonds did not rise; the speculators were out of pocket, and Butler was called on for his contribution to make up the loss, which he refused on the ground that he was only to share in the profits, and he has been taken into court by his confederates, where

the transaction has been exposed. It is a shameful story, in many ways far more shameful than the story of Cardoza, or Smalls, or even Patterson. The revelations of the Ring frauds made before the Legislative Committee at Columbia continue to leak out, and another damaging letter of Chamberlain's has been published. This gentleman, who was a member of the above Convention, and who was apparently made aware of the disgraceful contract, wrote to his "dear Kimpton" that he "would co-operate with Butler and Gary in every possible way."

The Comptroller-General of Georgia in his last official report gives the number of colored voters in the State as 84,164. They own 457,635 acres of land, valued on the tax-list at \$1,244,000, and city property valued at \$1,199,725. Their household goods are worth \$486,522, and altogether, with their cattle and horses and implements and savings in bank, they are supposed to be worth over \$5,000,000, which, for a purely laboring population just emerged from slavery and weighted in the race of life in all sorts of ways, is not a bad showing.

There has been a dispute raging for some time in the Legislature and the press over the disposition of the constitutional amendment on city government recommended by the late New York Municipal Commission. The last Legislature passed it *en bloc*; if this Legislature passes it, it will be submitted to the people at the next election. The Democrats, however, have opened up a fierce opposition to the section limiting the suffrage in the election of the Board of Finance, and the Republicans are, on a point of that kind, afraid to lag behind them. Even those who really do not disapprove of the restriction manage to oppose it under cover of a solemn conviction that it cannot be adopted. So it has been proposed either to submit the amendment without the suffrage section, or to break it up and submit the suffrage section separately. Such lawyers as Judge Comstock and Messrs. Peckham, Choate, and Robinson deny that this can be done, to which Mr. Bradford Prince, who advocates it, replies that it has been done in other cases; but it seems dangerous, nevertheless, to try it, and the safe thing would seem to be either its submission as it stands, or its separation by this Legislature and transmission to another in the separated form. Upon its value without the suffrage restriction there is a great deal taken for granted and very little said. This, which is the principal point, has not had nearly as much discussion expended on it as the improbability that the people would adopt the amendment as it stands.

In the financial markets the conclusion of the armistice had the effect of advancing British consols to 96½; there was no effect on the money market here, although breadstuffs and provisions declined in price. At the close of the week, when the armistice seemed less likely to lead to peace, consols lost of the advance. United States bonds in London early in the week recovered part of the decline caused by the adoption of the Matthews resolution in the House, but later this was again lost and again partly recovered, the market for these securities varying with the tenor of advices from Washington respecting silver remonetization. At the New York Stock Exchange a duller week has not been known for years, and stock speculation was as nearly stagnant as it is possible for it to be with the Stock Exchange doors open. The reasons assigned for this stagnation are that the leading speculators are bewildered in the face of the uncertain news from Europe; of the news from Washington, where it is yet an open question whether the 412½-grain silver dollar will be authorized, and if it is, whether it will lead to inflation or contraction, or whether the effect will not be contraction first and inflation later; and, finally, of the condition of the railroad war, which has been patched up during the week by a settlement that may prove only a truce, to be followed by active war even before the opening of navigation a few weeks hence. United States bonds here have been weak. The 4 per cent. bonds, which are now offered for sale direct to the public, could throughout the week be bought for a less price at the Stock Exchange than the price at which the Treasury is, under the law, able to sell them. Silver in



London advanced to 54*d.* per oz., English standard, and the bullion in a 412½-grain silver dollar could not have been sold at the close of the week for more than 90½ cents gold, \$0.9049. The gold value of the "paper dollar"—that is, the promise of the Treasury to pay one dollar—ranged between \$0.9756 and \$0.9815. In the city of New York there were 129 failures during January on liabilities of \$7,113,039; the total assets available for the payment of these liabilities was only \$1,433,839.

It was only on Thursday last that the armistice was actually signed, and the conditions which are to form the basis of the treaty of peace definitively announced. The long delay which caused so much excitement in England, and which was, there appears no reason to doubt, not understood even at St. Petersburg, was most probably due both to the unreadiness of the Turkish plenipotentiaries to accept their hard fate and to the desire of the Russians to get as far south as possible, and if possible close in the peninsula on which the capital stands, before stopping their march. The line of demarcation during the armistice has not yet been settled, but when hostilities ceased the Russians were across the railroad where it deflects to the east at Demotika, twenty-five miles south of Adrianople, and held it towards Constantinople down as far as Tchorlu, while their van had pressed down along the Maritza to Feredshik, within a few miles of the sea, on their right, and on their left had reached Rodosto, on the Sea of Marmora, to which point the cavalry had escorted a vast body of Mussulman fugitives—estimated at 50,000—after having disarmed the men. In fact, they may be said to hold the whole of Bulgaria and Rumelia, except the capital, and they had already shut in the garrisons of the Quadrilateral, and cut the line between Varna and Shumla, before the armistice was signed. The armistice provides for the evacuation of the five strongholds and Erzerum, and Erzerum is already in their hands, whether in pursuance of the agreement or through the exhaustion of the defenders does not yet appear. The Servians and Montenegrins, also, have been arrested in a victorious march—the Servians very reluctantly, but the Montenegrins, probably, gladly enough, "unconquered and weary of conquering." The Turk has now no hope but in the fears or generosity of the Powers.

The terms of peace are substantially those which we discussed last week as probable: the erection of Bulgaria into a principality—perhaps paying a round sum in tribute in lieu of taxes; a war-indemnity, either in money or territory; the independence of Montenegro, Servia, and Rumania, with an increase of territory for each; reforms (which probably means "local autonomy") in Bosnia and Herzegovina; an ulterior understanding between Turkey and Russia as to the Dardanelles, and the evacuation of Widdin, Rustchuk, Silistria, Shumla, and Varna. All these points are, however, to be debated and settled in a conference at Vienna which Austria has called, and at which at this writing all the Powers except Russia had agreed to appear, and she will doubtless do so at once. Austria seems to have grown restive under the delay in announcing the conditions, and, when announced, to have been troubled by the extent to which the proposed changes will touch her. She is reported to have mobilized one corps, and Russia, as if to keep herself formidable during the negotiation, is massing heavy reserves in Rumania. Austria has a keen interest in the reorganization of Bulgaria, Herzegovina, and Bosnia, and in the enlargement of Servia and Montenegro, which will probably throw her into close relations with England during the Conference. Turkey is to be represented, but it seems rather as a piece of courtesy than because her say will have any weight; in fact, the empire in Europe is gone, and the Eastern Question, after eighty years of postponement, has come up this time inevitably, Russia being thus far the only Power that has got any weight or credit out of it.

The Greeks, who, partly owing to English remonstrances, partly to their fear of the Turkish fleet, and partly to their poverty, kept

out of the fray until it was plainly drawing to its end, threw off all restraint last week, crossed the frontier into Thessaly with 10,000 regulars and many volunteers, from Lamia, and, meeting with no opposition, marched straight on Dhomoke, the first town on their way, and stormed it, taking the garrison of 1,300 men prisoners with slight loss to themselves, and at the latest accounts were still advancing, and 7,000 men more were entering Epirus. They probably think that if they could take Larissa, they might claim the province before the Conference. The Turks have, however, sent their ironclads, under Hobart, to the Piræus, which has caused a panic at Athens, and there are fears that there may be a force landed up in the Gulf of Lamia, which would cut the Greek army off. Admiral Hobart's career in the Black Sea has been so inglorious that he is probably glad of an opportunity of attacking somebody, and the Greeks are an attractive enemy for a man in his plight. The excuse of the Greek Ministry is that they have entered Turkey to save Christians from massacre during the troubled period now approaching, which has some foundation in fact. The Turk, when things are going badly with him, usually looks about him to see whether there is not somebody whose throat he can cut without risk. It makes him feel more comfortable and softens his afflictions.

The debate in the House of Commons continues at this writing, the ministerial prospects on the whole improving, owing to the magnitude of the Russian demands, their vagueness, the delay there has been in communicating them, and the somewhat minatory air of the Czar's address to the troops at St. Petersburg on Saturday, when he said that "they were still far from the end," and must continue prepared until they had secured a solid and enduring peace. The conclusion of the armistice, too, and the calling of the Conference have diminished the Liberal fears of a sudden lapse into war, and other leaders in the House of Commons see and acknowledge the necessity of sending a British representative to Vienna with a united nation at his back. If, therefore, Mr. Forster's amendment is pushed to a division, which it may not be, the Ministry, it is thought, will get a majority of 100. But however the Eastern question may be settled, there is no question that it has in a measure passed out of English hands. A consciousness of the mistakes made on this point shows itself in Lord Derby's reply to a deputation of Greek residents in London, on Tuesday, when he read a despatch of his of 1877 showing that he had been the friend of the Greeks from the beginning, and would endeavor to protect their interest at the Conference, and, while not blaming them for invading Turkey, promised to try and settle this unfortunate affair. There are, in fact, many signs that the Ministry will now try a new rôle in the Levant.

The Turks, in the meantime, have been trying to prepare themselves for the Conference by another change of costume. The creation of the constitution and the parliament not having produced the desired effect on the European mind, the office of grand vizier, which has come down from the earliest days of the Caliphate, has been abolished, and a regular European ministry substituted for it, with its "portfolios" of War, Marine, Foreign Affairs, Commerce, and so on. The object of this evidently is to produce the impression that now that peace has been restored there is going to be more "reform" than ever, and that the little that remains to be done to make Turkey a modern state will be done right speedily. The new President of the Council, Ahmed Vefik Effendi, is one of the few genuinely civilized and cultivated Turks in existence, and his colleagues are mostly men of progressive views. Mahmoud Damad, the Sultan's brother-in-law, an ignorant Turk of the old school, whose influence has, with slight intermissions, been predominant at the Palace during the whole war, and has been vicious in every way, goes into retirement at last. He has many of the mental characteristics of an American silver-man—such as hostility to special training or experience and contempt for "abroad." We believe he can neither read nor write, and is, in fact, a "practical statesman."

## "THE ART OF POLITICS."

THE failure or refusal of the President to bring any influence to bear in favor of or in opposition to particular legislation, such as the Silver Bill, for instance, is naturally exciting a good deal of comment, and most of it hostile. Most people, whether friends or enemies of the Administration, admit that the President is not confined either by the Constitution or expediency to the simple execution of the laws. He is directed to recommend legislation to Congress, and long and well-established usage allows him to employ whatever influence his position gives him to promote such legislation as he approves and oppose such as he disapproves. Unfortunately, the way in which the President has for many years exerted this influence is by offering a share in the patronage as a sort of bribe to the members of both Houses. This usage has existed so long that members of the party in power have got into the way of being indifferent to all legislation until they see what are the President's wishes about it. In other words, no matter how important it may be, or how plainly the Constitution has made it their concern, they give no heed to it until they hear from the White House whether they are to be rewarded for looking after it, and the reward, of course, consists in having their applications for offices properly recorded and attended to. It is in this way Presidents have influenced legislation for the last forty years. It was in this way Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, and Grant did it. It was in this way Johnson could have done it if he had not arrayed himself against a strong and even passionate public opinion on a leading question.

Mr. Hayes's refusal, in obedience to the party platform, to resort to this means of controlling and directing Congressional action, being a sudden and somewhat violent departure from a well-established custom, is accordingly producing a good deal of confusion in the political world. The Congressmen of his own party came to Washington ready "to support the Administration" in the usual way—that is, to vote as the Administration wishes on particular measures on being asked to do so, and on the assumption that compliance will be of service to them afterwards. Not receiving the expected intimation from the White House, they are accordingly surprised, angry, and demoralized. They exhibit great carelessness about the Silver Bill, for instance, and other attacks on the public credit. They do not resist them in debate or only resist them feebly. They do not defend the Administration when it is assailed, and, in fact, treat public business as if it was only in a very slight degree their business. When the newspaper correspondents ask them the meaning of their lukewarmness they reply that they are very willing to stand by the President and the party, but they must first know what he wants. That they have themselves duties and responsibilities as legislators, wholly independent of the President's plans and wishes, is an idea which, however prominent in the political system of the country, exists only very faintly in their minds. To all old politicians the spectacle is, therefore, a shocking one; to patriotic men of all classes it is, though for a different reason, more or less painful and disheartening. In fact, it is somewhat of an approach to the absence of all government. A country may have all the needed branches of a government, and yet if no one be responsible for the initiation and conduct of legislation, government, in the full sense of the term, can hardly be said to exist.

We ventured to point out some months ago the danger of the President's abandoning the old means of influencing Congress without providing himself with a new one, apropos of the silver movement, which had then begun to look threatening; that is, if he ceased to lead the party through the "spoils system," he would have, we maintained, to lead it through persuasive force and close contact with public opinion. Congress, as now composed, and especially the Republicans in Congress, are not ready to be let alone. They cannot as yet dispense with inspiration from the White House. The President cannot without mischief divest himself all of a sudden of the functions of a party leader; but no President can be a party leader under the new régime which the Cin-

cinnati platform prescribes, and which public opinion longs for, who has not himself strong and definite convictions on the prominent questions of the day, and who is not supported by a united Cabinet who share those convictions. If Mr. Lincoln had had doubts whether it was better to carry on the struggle or not, or whether it would not be as well to compromise, and part of his Cabinet were in favor of peace, part in favor of war, and part in favor of a mixture of war and peace, he could not have made any impression on Congress or anybody else, even with the assistance of patronage. And yet the President is now in a position somewhat analogous to that here described. His own opinions on the silver movement are not, we take it, very clear or deep-seated or long held. The civil-service question, too, evidently still lies in his mind in a somewhat nebulous condition. He is not prepared to produce on either subject what the reporters call a "ringing" message, which would rouse the country and rally round him that large body of persons, both in and out of Congress, who instinctively follow a man who knows what he wants and makes it plain that he means to get it. The silver-men, or some body or class of persons, ought at this moment to dread his pen. There ought to be no speculation and no contradictory reports as to what he thinks and is going to do about a subject which is shaking American society to its centre, and on which the attention of the civilized world is fixed. His Cabinet, too, does not stand well together on anything. Two members care about civil-service reform, and three or four care about a stable standard of value; if the Administration was going to charge on either of the great questions of the hour, two at least would remain in their tents and look on. To be sure, in all this the Administration simply reflects the condition of the Republican party itself. But if we are going to dispense with the influence of office-jobbing, this state of things will not do; and yet it is a state of things which may be called the natural result of prolonged office-jobbing. The President, having been bred under the old system, probably did not foresee the new duties which the refusal to share his patronage with Congress would impose on him, and the increased need it would create for a united Cabinet with definite and pronounced ideas.

This is not the whole of the difficulty, however. Some of our papers—the New York *Tribune* for one—fancy that all the trouble is due to the fact that the President's advisers are "doctrinaire reformers," who have not learnt the "art of politics"—"one of the most delicate of the arts"—and the writer points to the way in which it is acquired in England as a contrast to the way in which some of "the counsellors" who surround Mr. Hayes have acquired it. He says:

"An Englishman goes into public life as he would go into one of the liberal professions, and before he reaches a high position in the Government he is expected to learn the art of politics in some inconspicuous place not beset with responsibilities too great for his strength. He has a pride in his career and a regard for its good repute. Naturally, therefore, he has made politics a highly honorable profession—honorable not only in its objects, but in its surroundings, in the social rank which it confers, and the associations and habits which attend it.

"But in the reaction against political corruption which has agitated the country during the past six or seven years we are in danger of committing a mischievous piece of extravagance. We must not forget that governing the United States is an art, and a very difficult art, and it cannot be learned in a week or two by smart lawyers, merchants, ministers, and authors, who have had no experience in the management of men and parties. The reformers of our day are too much inclined to consider it the highest recommendation of a candidate for a political post that he is 'no politician'; which is much as if they should undertake to correct the evil tendencies of the stage by insisting that all plays should be performed by men who are 'no actors.' It is not usual to value a doctor for his ignorance, or to select gentlemen who have never practised law for elevation to the bench, however highly they may be distinguished for general intelligence and personal virtue. But the principles of common sense which are so rigorously applied to the liberal professions are too often forgotten when we come to deal with affairs of state. The doctrinaire reformer believes that he can practise one of the most delicate of arts without having learned how, and that the right way to govern a political party is to put it under the care



of persons who have no practical knowledge of the mechanism of politics. This is pestilent nonsense."

These are valuable observations because the writer, though he accuses the wrong man, has discovered the *corpus delicti*. But the phrase "art of politics" does not bear the same meaning either in England, France, Germany, or any other civilized country which it bears in the United States to-day, and which the *Tribune* evidently gives it. The young politician in these countries learns "the mechanism of government" simply as a young military officer learns his drill—that is, as necessary, but only as the rudiments of the art. To him "politics" does not mean simply the art of getting and controlling votes, but the art of legislation—that is, of dealing with the leading problems of human society, finance, administration of justice, diplomacy, poor relief, education, and so on, *through laws*. He learns his trade through the study of "questions," and politics to him is "questions," not electioneering. Our politicians, on the other hand, occupy themselves with the "mechanism of government" solely. Accordingly, there is not a leading statesman in France, England, or Germany who would not at this moment be considered a simple-minded visionary, or doctrinaire, or ninny, and, in fact, be laughed at, in any assembly of American politicians, even though he had shown himself capable of giving great empires strength, liberty, security, and honor. One little fact will illustrate the difference better than whole pages of exposition. When the German Government proposed its scheme of recoinage and demonetization of silver, it printed its plan and distributed it among all the leading students of finance in the kingdom—the professors, bankers, and writers, and so on, and, if we remember rightly, left it a year in their hands, and solicited their comments on it, before attempting to legislate. In other words, it brought all the intelligence, experience, and learning of the nation to bear on the problem before touching it. Contrast this with the financial performances and equipment of Bland or Stanley Matthews, and we have the whole story in a nutshell. Who supposes that the able and skilful economists who have, during the last seven years, managed the public finances of France and the Bank of France, would carry any weight in certain quarters in this country if they were among the President's counsellors? And yet what matchless work they have done for the civilization of a great people!

The application of this to the situation at Washington is, we hope, obvious. If the President gets around him real politicians, that is, men who understand government as an art in which electioneering is merely a beginning, he inevitably cuts himself off, to a certain extent, from the sympathies of the other kind of politicians in whose hands the party management mostly lies. The members of a Cabinet so composed, however closely they might attend to their real duties, and however great their authority on all questions of legislation, would pass for "doctrinaires" and "visionaries," and be scoffed at and set upon, very much as Mr. Schurz is to-day; and yet no one can deny that the great end of all reform is to give such men their due influence in the transaction of our public business. But the remedy lies far beyond the reach of any President. It consists in the inculcation at school and college, and every where else where American boys and girls are trained, of greater respect for special knowledge, and greater faith in it, and greater willingness to be guided by it in the management of the national concerns. The notion that it is our amateur politicians who consider governing an easy art is a very queer error. It is the bulk of American voters who labor under this delusion, and it is this delusion more than any other which the next generation will have to fight, if we are to be saved from the ups and downs of republics further south.

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROPOSED NEW TARIFF.

MR. WOOD'S new tariff bill made its appearance last Thursday, and although the time since elapsed has been too short to allow a thorough comparison with the existing tariff to be made, our readers will be interested in the result of a cursory and partial examination of this important document. The introductory clause

proposes to let the bill take effect January 1, 1879, thus unusually prolonging the period during which business must inevitably suffer from whatever changes may be enacted. As a commendable general feature of the bill we may point out that it proposes to do away with all complicated duties (specific and ad valorem combined), and to substitute therefor simple specific or ad-valorem rates, thus fulfilling the promise of effectual simplification. Before reviewing the different rates of duties proposed in Sec. 1 we will consider the general changes comprised in the sections following.

Sec. 2 substitutes for the present dutiable charges of packing inland freight, export duty, commission, etc., a general and uniform addition of five per cent. on the first cost of the goods, which in many cases, where ad-valorem duties are imposed, will amount to a reduction of duty, and in all such cases will relieve the importer as well as the appraiser from the difficulties hitherto frequently encountered on the score of charges.

Sec. 3 authorizes an unlimited use of bonded warehouses for the manufacture of bonded goods into articles of export. This privilege may prove of some value, but it will probably be applicable only to such articles as can be exported in large quantities.

Sec. 7 puts an intelligible construction on the amount of personal property which passengers arriving from foreign countries shall be allowed to bring in free, and does away with the vexatious question whether such property has been in use or not. The amount to be allowed to each passenger is wearing apparel to the extent of \$200 in value, and other property to the extent of \$500.

Sec. 14 in like manner defines more distinctly the privilege granted to States, municipal corporations, and to religious and scientific associations, of importing free of duty works of art and articles of a scientific or artistic nature.

Sec. 20 increases the duties enacted by ten per cent. on the amount of duty on importations from any country that discriminates in its own duties on imports by imposing higher rates upon imports from the United States than upon those from other countries. This clause appears to be rather loosely drawn, inasmuch as it is left doubtful whether such discrimination, practised by any foreign country, must be a discrimination against the United States and in favor of all other countries, or whether any discrimination in favor of one other country and against all the rest, the United States included, shall bring on the proposed retaliation. If the latter were the correct construction the effect would probably be that the additional ten per cent. would have to be imposed on our importations from nearly every country in Europe, since most of these countries have, by their special treaties made within the past twenty years, granted special advantages to the country with which any treaty was made. The case might thus occur that we should have to levy a discriminating duty upon all imports from a country that had granted to some other country a certain favor, though this favor may in no way affect the interest of the United States.

Sec. 21 proposes to enact the most radical of all the changes, inasmuch as it not only grants the free importation of all materials used in the construction, equipment, or repair of vessels of the United States, but also effects a total repeal of our navigation laws by offering the American flag and register to all vessels wholly owned by American citizens. Curiously enough, this sweeping change has attracted but little attention so far, and is passed over in silence by the explanatory notes appended to the bill.

Among the general enactments we miss a clause permitting goods lying in bond at the time the bill goes into effect to be entered for consumption at the reduced rates of duty. Unless this privilege does not require special enactment, the omission will result in great disturbance of trade.

Returning to the consideration of the rates of duty to be enacted by the first section of this bill, we have to say that a reliable estimate and comparison of the new duties on manufactures of cotton, wool, linen, and silk with the existing duties would, owing to the radical changes proposed in the manner of assessing such duties, require more study and more practical knowledge than we have as yet been able to bring to bear on this important subject.

We may, however, state our impression that the proposed rates of duty on dry goods generally would effect a moderate reduction of the present duties, but not sufficient to affect the present position of our own industries.

In Schedule B, treating of earth and earthenware, the most important change appears to be in the duty on plate-glass, of which the sizes imported in the largest quantities, particularly of silvered plate, are assessed at increased rates, which, it is said, will act in a great measure as prohibitory.

In Schedule C—hemp, jute, etc.—the proposed changes appear to effect more or less reduction of duties on the raw materials.

In Schedule D—liquors—the present uniform duty on still wine in casks of 40 cents per gallon and of \$1 60 per dozen in bottles, which has favored the importation of the better qualities, is replaced by rates varying according to cost from 25 cents to \$1 50 per gallon on wines in casks, and 100 per cent. ad valorem on wine in bottles, which will again discriminate in favor of inferior qualities.

Schedule E—metals.—Here the prominent feature seems to be a reduction of duty on pig-iron from \$7 to \$5 a ton, and a great simplification of the present tariff by rendering all steel, and most manufactures of iron and steel, subject to a duty of 35 per cent. ad valorem; the most important exception being steel rails, which are to pay 1 cent per pound, or about 64 per cent. on their present foreign value. The retention of the excessive duty of \$1 50 per package on gold-leaf, and 75 cents on silver-leaf, will gratify the numerous smugglers who for years past have shown marked predilection for these articles.

Passing over Schedule F—provisions—where no remarkable change seems to be proposed, we come to Schedule G, treating of the important article of sugar, which, it is generally understood, has been fixed by the excellent member of the sub-committee from Louisiana. The result, as was to be expected, proves to be a general advance of the existing high duties and an increased discrimination against the higher grades, which mainly compete with New Orleans sugars. This proposed change will no doubt be widely discussed by our refiners. We will, therefore, leave its discussion to these experts, and merely draw attention to the clause which makes not only the color of sugars, but also their pulverization, a criterion for their classification for duty, which will prove, therefore, the reverse of simplification.

Of Schedules H, I, J, and K we merely observe that the existing high rates on spices, cigars, and tobacco, though simplified, appear to be fully maintained, while woods are favored with a considerable reduction.

Schedule L—wool and woollens—proposes to effect the greatest and most important reduction of duties contained in the bill by an abatement of about 33 per cent. on the existing high rates of duty on raw wool. The classifications of the present tariff are nominally retained, but the existing distinction between clothing and long combing wool is effectually abolished, and both classes, when unwashed, are made subject to a simple duty of 8 cents per pound on wool costing 32 cents and under, and of 10 cents on wool costing over 32 cents per pound. Why this useless distinction should be maintained and allowed to mar the undoubted improvement here proposed it is difficult to explain. The bill also maintains the existing discrimination in favor of English long wools (Class II.) which are allowed to come in *washed* at the single rate of duty, while washed clothing wool has to pay double the rate of unwashed. This discrimination, it is well understood among the trade, was introduced into the tariff of 1867 at the instigation of a prominent New England manufacturer, to whose special benefit it has inured, and who will rub his hands in the grave that now covers him if he learns that his heirs are to continue enjoying the benefit under a reformed tariff. The proposed reduction on fine wool, though less than what was expected and what was promised by the Morrison bill, will no doubt be thankfully accepted by our manufacturers. On carpet wools (Class III.) the proposed reduction of duty amounts to ½c. and 1c. per pound, according to first cost, the low-duty limit being maintained at 12 cents per pound, as at present.

We pass over Schedule M—sundries—with the remark that books are uniformly charged 20 per cent. ad valorem. This is an apparent reduction on the existing duty (25 per cent.), but it does away with the present limitation of twenty years after publication, by virtue of which books of an earlier date are admitted duty free. On the one hand, therefore, libraries, collectors, and special students will be severely taxed, while on the other the custom-house officials, called upon to decide upon the value of books and pamphlets having often a fancy price, will not find their work simplified but perplexingly increased, since they will get no help from the importer.

Coming to the free list, we are first struck by the fact that the bill does not, as previous tariffs have, we believe, always done, specify the articles comprised in that lucky category, but simply enacts that "all merchandise not herein provided for shall be free of duty." We are thus consigned to the laborious task of carefully searching out the articles assessed by the existing tariff and not mentioned in this bill before we can knowingly rejoice in the extensive and valuable additions we have been promised, and which everybody seems to take for granted this bill actually proposed to make to the free list. We have not accomplished and scarcely attempted this difficult task, but we have gone far enough to make us entertain serious fears of disappointment for all those who have been expecting an effectual increase of that list. We have failed to discover more than one important article—viz., salt, which now yields an annual revenue of about \$700,000—that this bill proposes to make free. The rest of the new free list seems to be composed mainly of minor articles, like honey, glue, burr-stones, ground emery, common soap, acids, acetates, and medicinal preparations, now yielding perhaps another \$700,000, thus making the whole loss of revenue by these additions to the free list about \$1,400,000. On the other hand, we find many important articles now free which this bill proposes to make dutiable. The following are the most prominent of these unlucky articles and the rates of duty it is proposed to impose upon them, viz.:

Raw silk.....	10 p. c. ad val.	Alizarine, garancine, and madder.....	20 p. c. ad val.
India-rubber.....	10 " "	Cochineal.....	10 " "
Crude argols.....	3 cts. per lb.	Indigo.....	10 " "
Cork bark.....	30 p. c. ad val.	Tin.....	10 " "
Cocoa.....	1 ct. per lb.	Peruvian bark.....	10 " "
Horsehair.....	30 p. c. ad val.	Gums of all kinds.....	10 " "
Hides and skins.....	10 " "	Camphor, crude.....	3 cts. p. lb.
Hide cuttings.....	10 " "	Seeds, other than linseed.....	20 p. c. ad val.
Rags for manu. of paper.....	10 " "		
Ivory.....	50 " "		

Here is a list of articles now free on which it is proposed to levy a revenue amounting, when calculated on the importations of last year, to about \$6,000,000. Nearly the whole of this burden will fall first on our manufacturers, who, we are told, must be encouraged and enabled to send their products to foreign markets to compete with European manufactures. Instead of encouraging our export trade, this bill will actually reduce it. Within the past eight years, since hides have been free, our annual exports of hemlock leather to Europe have gradually increased to over a million of sides of the value of six millions. What sense is there in subjecting raw hides again to a duty of 10 per cent. and making no provision for any drawback on leather; or how can our calico-printers be expected to compete with Europe in foreign markets, when they had only just begun the attempt while their principal dyestuffs were free? Is it expected that these industries will, under the beneficent provisions of section 3 of this bill, be hereafter carried on in bonded warehouses? If revenue was the object to be reached by these reductions of the free list, why not rather tax coffee and tea, on which a duty of one cent and five cents per pound would produce as much as the whole of the above list of new duties, and of which tax even the poorest consumer would for ever remain unconscious?

We might point out some incongruities, evidently the result of oversight, where the raw material and the manufactured article are to be taxed alike, as, for instance, bark and quinine, cork bark and corks, ivory and manufactures of ivory; but enough has been stated to show the character of this bill. Clearly this new-fashioned mode of making a tariff in sub-committee and in secret has not fulfilled the expectations entertained of it, and unless this bill is effectually



amended in the direction above indicated the improvements embodied in it will be outweighed by its defects.

#### THE MIND AND MANNERS OF THE SILVER-MAN.

WE commend the subjoined extract from the *Chicago Tribune* to the attention of our correspondent, Mr. Mason, as an illustration of the way the discussion is carried on by the gentle Silver-man and his organs. Here is at least one sweet thinker to whom one may speak roughly when one catches him preaching a fraud, and inventing fables in support of it:

"The most insolent, most vituperative, the most truth-defying, and most extravagant and vulgar in denunciation of the people of the West, collectively and individually, was the *New York Nation*. It set itself up as a moral censor. It defined financial morality to be the prompt payment of raised checks; and because the people of the West, who discharge their debts from the proceeds of their own labor, decline to pay vastly more than they contracted to do, the *Nation* deluged them with abuse and defamation that would have rendered a fishwoman famous among her fellows, and has threatened them with the malicious lies of a blackmailer and a bully."

The reader will enjoy in this the way the honest fellow has changed his grievance and magnified it. What he has been complaining of until lately is his having lost his dear father's old silver dollar, which he had traded with since before he was born, by means of a most disgraceful and wonderful conspiracy, which was kept a dead secret by about 500 politicians and newspaper reporters, until they had accomplished their hellish design. His bereavement was none the less terrible for his not having been aware of it until two years after the blow fell. He says now, however, that what they really did to him was not steal his silver but "raise his checks," which he had doubtless drawn against gold to repay some Shylock a loan contracted at ruinous rates of interest to educate his younger brothers and sisters. We shall not be at all surprised if he turns up in a week or two with his clothes torn, a bullet-hole in his hat, and his face scratched, and declares that he was on his way to pay his debts with a wagon-load of "coin," drawn by an aged family horse left him by his sainted mother, when the "Money Power" fell on him in a lonely part of the road and took every cent he had. His condition, indeed, is rapidly becoming as forlorn as that of the poor Granger, of whom we heard so much three or four years ago. At first it was only by the railroads that that godly man was afflicted; but when he got time to examine himself closely, he found that almost every class in the community was armed against him and preying upon him. His principal enemy was, of course, the unspeakable villains who lent him money and took his note; then came the villains who carried him and his crops to market; then those who bought his corn and pork; and, finally, the grocers and dry-goods men and piano men, and in fact everybody who sold him anything. Lastly, he fell foul of the judges who sat on his disputes, and he used to foot up piteously the amount of land it took to maintain a judge. His sorrows grew every day, and he cursed and swore and wailed, and got his newspapers to curse and swear and wail with him, and pretend that if somebody did not hold him or pacify him he would bury himself and at least one branch of the human family in red ruin. After a while, finding that the world was getting tired of him, he began to laugh, and now pretends that it was all a joke, but a useful joke, for he says it frightened "the monopolists" and compelled them to carry him at the usual extortionate rates.

The sorry wag has now appeared as the Silver-man, and is threatening us with the same dissolution of the Social Bond with which he threatened us as a Granger. What is troubling him now is the "Money Power," which he never mentions without that wild look in his eye with which all those are familiar who have heard a Belleville orator denouncing "la Réaction." He was ranting about it in Washington the other day in the presence of a cold and bloodless "gold sharp," who, after listening a good while to his eloquence, asked him with brutal abruptness, "What is the Money Power, anyhow?" The strange light forsook his eyes on hearing this, and his jaw fell. After an awkward and reflective pause, he said, "Well, it's the darned fellows that won't buy your property at your own price." If there be one thing more than another which irritates him, it is opposition. He doesn't allow himself to be whistled down the wind by "the bookmen" and "the theorists." Anybody who differs from the people of his village he thinks a stuck-up jackanapes, and the experience of "abroad" in a matter of finance he listens to with the same sort of feeling with which he would listen to Sir John Lubbock's lectures

on the manners and customs of the ants. He will not admit that anybody knows more on any subject than any one else. As American citizens, he says, living under equal laws, our knowledge is equal in quality and amount. It is only in monarchies that one man knows more than another. Here is a letter from an unfortunate who has to live with him in Illinois:

JANUARY 31, 1878.

"I have read with great interest your article in last week's *Nation* on the silver craze in the South and West, and I stand ready to confirm all you have said of the West, so far as my own community is concerned. I can say, and say truthfully, that it requires almost as much courage to stand up against it in this community as it would have required thirty years ago to have stood up for the slave, and the man who does it runs nearly the same risk to his reputation and of incurring the odium of his neighbors. To prove to you the truth of this, I have on several instances of late endeavored to show up the iniquity and evils that would attend the passage of the Bland Bill—have done this in the post-office, stores, and shops of the village, any place where the subject might chance to come up; and it only took two or three such interviews to incur the name of 'bullionist,' and to show the feeling at once awakened by my defence of honest money. One of my neighbors asked me in great excitement: 'How is it that you know so much more than all the community? Are we all fools, and you know it all?' He added that so far as he knew I was the only man in the town who opposed the Bland Bill, and accused me of being 'the poor man's enemy.' And from faint sounds in the community I am confident that I am regarded, by certain ones in the place, as the friend of the bloated bondholder and the enemy of the poor. I have seen nothing like it since the old anti-slavery days, when my father stood almost alone, in a little town in New York, in his opposition to slavery. It is not true that I am alone in the town in defence of honest money, but it is so near it that all those who are with me might be counted on the fingers of a man's hand. Men who use some reason on other subjects seem to use none here—even members of my church, who are wont to give some heed to what I say on other matters."

"I write this simply that you may see how intense is the excitement over this matter in certain parts of the West, and how little, for the present, those who favor honest money in these parts can do to stay the tide."

Nothing about him, however, is more curious and mysterious than his state of mind touching his beloved dollar. His fondness for it because it is "cheap"—that is, because it is a feeble dollar, which cannot purchase much or do much of the work of exchange—seems to indicate that he loves it as a mother loves a crippled child, because of its very helplessness and incapacity. But this theory is upset by the fact that he not only likes it cheap but small, for any proposal to enlarge it, such as Senator Christiancy's to raise it to 434 grains—that is, to make it a big, handsome dollar—fills him with fury, and makes him curse and call names. We begin to hear abuse of the Senator now in every Western breeze, thus showing that the maternal-instinct hypothesis must be abandoned. The same facts militate against the idea that he loves silver as the money of Scripture and as a great American mineral, for if he did so he would want to put as much of it as possible into his dollars in order to "pay his debts"—a process of which he is passionately fond—and in order to export it to the downtrodden nations of Europe. But he is utterly opposed to anything of the kind. His plan is to use as little silver as possible, a circumstance which has given rise in these parts to the odious suspicion that he is really a knave. This, of course, makes him very indignant, and he says that if anybody suggests this much oftener he will not even use silver to pay his debts. He will shield himself from these cruel insinuations by not paying them at all.

#### A FRENCH VIEW OF VICTOR EMMANUEL.

PARIS, January 11, 1878.

THE news of the death of the King of Italy will take the world by surprise. Who would ever have believed that he would die before the old Pope, whose death has been announced so often, and who continues to live by a sort of miracle? Only a few days ago we were informed that Victor Emmanuel had received Gambetta in Rome, at the Quirinal, and had had a long conversation with the chief of the Republican party of France. Even those who have not been the friends of the new Italian kingdom, even the Ultramontanes, will, I believe, be troubled by the disappearance of one who had become one of the familiar features of Europe. Victor Emmanuel had something in him which directly appeals to all the instincts of humanity; he was essentially a natural man, he had natural feelings; he was a visage, not a mask; he was real, his plain features were in harmony with a robust and almost rustic constitution. He had remained a true Savoyard, a man of the mountains; he preferred the free and cold air of the high altitudes to the perfumed breezes of the plains. Every year he hunted the chamois for a whole month in the Alps,

and during that time he lived in an immense tent not far from the glaciers.

No royal house has more traditions or a sterner etiquette than the House of Savoy. The reason of it is obvious: the Dukes of Savoy of old times were dwarfs who meant to become giants. They had a great force—they kept the keys of the Alps; but they were constantly threatened by France on one side, on the other by the house of Austria and its numerous allies. They never were found at the end of a war on the same side on which they were at the beginning, except when they had had time to change sides twice. They were often accused of treachery; they were simply taking precautions against the eternal foes of Italy. They were, unconsciously at first, the representatives of the great nationality which had lost its unity after the fall of the Roman Empire. Piedmont, the least Italian province of Italy, became the hidden heart of the new Italy. Nobody ever stopped at Turin; who cared for its cold and stiff aristocracy, its small-capital court, fenced by more prejudices than the court of Louis XIV. ever had been? There, however, almost at the foot of the Alps, lived princes and noblemen who alone thought of breaking the yoke of Austria and of regenerating Italy. I have known some of the men who were the friends of Charles Albert, the father of Victor Emmanuel. They were very different from the class of modern agitators; they had not much in common with the men who are now in power in Rome. They were, so to speak, aristocratic Puritans. Collegno, one of Charles Albert's friends, who was obliged to leave Italy on the suspicion that he had entered into a conspiracy against Austria, made himself for years a professor of geology in France, and became minister to France in 1848. Cavour belonged to the same class, as well as Massimo d'Azeglio, as La Marmora, as the Marquis Alfieri. If you wish to have an exact idea of the Piedmontese world you must read Joseph de Maistre's correspondence.

Victor Emmanuel was educated with great severity, as is the tradition of the House of Savoy; he saw only two classes of men—soldiers, who told him that a prince of Savoy is nothing if not a soldier; noblemen, who whispered in his ear: "Italy must be made free; she must be freed not by popular movements and agitations, she must be freed by you; the new Italy must be the work, not of the revolution, but of the king." The young Prince grew up between these two influences; but his principal teacher was his father, who instilled in him the instincts, traditions, and ambitions of his race. Charles Albert was only a cadet of the House of Savoy, of the Carignan branch. The last king of the eldest line was Charles Felix, who left no children. In 1821 Charles Albert entered into what may be called a conspiracy against the king, the exact history of which remains to be written. He was then in communion with the Carbonari, and encouraged their plans against Austria and the archdukes, who were the lieutenants of Austria in Italy. He was obliged to exile himself; he took service in France and took part in the campaign made by the Bourbon government against the Liberals in Spain. He showed the hereditary courage of his race at the assault of the Trocadero, and, in order to recompense him, Louis XVIII. gave him the honorary title of "First Grenadier of France." Some of my friends remember having seen him at the receptions at the Tuileries in his French grenadier's uniform, with a blue coat and red epaulettes.

He was called to the throne of Piedmont at the death of Charles Felix, in 1831. He affected then the most reactionary views; he took an active part in the attempt made by the Duchess of Berry against the government of Louis Philippe. What was his object? Did he wish to gain time, to flatter Austria in order to deceive her better? He surrounded himself with priests, with men of the old régime; but there are good reasons for thinking that under this new mask the old Carbonaro still lived. Turin became for a while a hot-bed of reaction; but the writers, the thinkers, the statesmen who were preparing the future of Italy found a sort of asylum in it. The seed which had been sown during long years of hypocrisy came out in 1848; the spirit of revolution was again unchained, and Charles Albert went to Novara. He refused the alliance of the French republic, which was offered him by General Cavaignac. "L'Italia farà da se" was the proud answer of one who never believed in anything but his own Piedmont and his faithful brigade of Savoy. We all know the rest, how Charles Albert resigned after Novara; how Victor Emmanuel mounted his throne almost as a vassal of Austria. He had learned much from his father: his rough and abrupt manners covered a profound dissimulation; he determined to avenge his father, to avenge Piedmont, as soon as he could find his opportunity. He was helped in his plans by a great minister and by a powerful ally. It will be always to the credit of Victor Emmanuel that he recognized the rare qualities of Cavour, and was faithful to the Italian Richelieu. He paid his French ally with gener-

osity; for we must give this name to the abandonment of the province of Savoy, which was the cradle of his race and the nursery of his best soldiers. When we look back on the work which was performed by Victor Emmanuel and by Cavour we must acknowledge that it is one of the great political works of our age. A great nationality, which had nearly perished, has now revived; Rome has become the capital of Italy, and Italy is not only united from the Alps to the Adriatic, as Napoleon III. said in his first proclamation to the Italians, but from the Alps to the most southern cape of Italy. Victor Emmanuel probably did not plan at first all that he was allowed to execute; he ate his artichoke leaf by leaf. The capital wandered from Turin to Florence, and from Florence to Rome. He had to change his allies; he acted first with France, and afterwards with Germany.

There are two things which will always be remembered of him: though France had done so much for him he never was ungrateful to France. He was obliged to protest against the convention of Rome, which had for a while shut Rome upon him and his Government; he was obliged to enter into the German alliance, in order first to free Venice and afterwards to obtain Rome, but he never forgot Villafranca and Solferino. I believe that I am not mistaken in saying that at the time when France was so unmercifully punished for the sins of a government over which she had no control, Victor Emmanuel was the only sovereign in Europe, perhaps the only ruler in the world, who felt pity for her, and who understood that a fatal element of revenge and disorder had been introduced into Europe. He could do nothing for us—the sword of San Martino remained in the scabbard; but he did not turn haughtily against us, and he did not say to us, like so many other nations, "Culpa tua tecum sit." We have also to give him very high praise for his rare perception of intellectual forces. He, the rude soldier, the man who enjoyed nothing but the sport of war, the sight of numberless battalions, the roar of artillery, understood plainly that there was a man as powerful, more powerful in many senses than the leaders of armies—the man of the Vatican, the head of the Catholic Church. He knew that his guns could not prevail against spiritual doors, that hearts and consciences cannot be taken by assault, that dogmas cannot be destroyed by laws. He did not conduct his *Kulturkampf* with any violence; he became of necessity the adversary of the temporal power, and was very desirous not to make war against the spiritual power. The famous motto of Cavour, "Libera chiesa nel libero stato," inspired the law of Papal guarantees, which is extremely liberal in its character. It can be said, on the other hand, that the head of the Church never carried the war against Victor Emmanuel to the last extremities; he scolded, he threatened, he did not do all he might have done. He preferred to remain in the Vatican even as a prisoner rather than to go to Malta or to France; and I know, by many conversations with eminent Italians, that even while the Italian *Kulturkampf* was going on, there were always friendly and confidential communications between the Italian Pope and the Italian King.

Who would have thought a few weeks ago that Pio Nono would survive Victor Emmanuel? Many fervent Catholics will see in this reversal of the ordinary rules of nature the action of Providence; imaginative minds will also speculate on the curious coincidence of the dates of the death of the King of Italy and the anniversary of the death of Napoleon III. How rapidly the world is moving on! Of all the men whose names are connected with the resurrection of Italy, how many are now left? Cavour is gone; Napoleon III. is no more; Victor Emmanuel only survived La Marmora by a few days; the statue of D'Azeglio is in one of the squares of Turin; Ratazzi is gone. The old Pontiff who first gave a word of encouragement to Italy in 1848 still survives; and though he has fought for years in favor of the temporal power of the Papacy, he has probably never felt any real aversion even for the men who deprived the Papacy of its earthly possessions. It cannot be that he has not in his own mind imagined some *modus vivendi* between the spiritual ruler of Catholicity and the armed ruler of Italy. Victor Emmanuel carefully acted so as to make such a *modus vivendi* possible, if not for the actual Pope, for the Pope who will come after Pio Nono. Time alone can show if his sagacity will be imitated by his successors, and if the revolutionists of Italy, who were rendered powerless by his exceptional and extraordinary services to Italy, will not after him shake with the last foundations of the Papacy the foundations of monarchy itself. The difficulties of Italy will now begin in earnest. The ties which held together Cavour, the King, Garibaldi, and even the Pope have been broken by the rude hand of death. Victor Emmanuel may have said on his death-bed, "*Eregi monumentum*"; history will add or not, according to the wisdom or the folly of the new Italian generation, "*perennius arc.*"



## Correspondence.

## A GOOD STATE TO EMIGRATE FROM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The contrast between the statements of the Kansas Board of Agriculture, as shown by the enclosed newspaper slip, and the recent remarks of Judge Dillon on the delinquent cities and counties of that State, deserves, in my judgment, to be noticed in a manner calculated to arouse public feeling against repudiation in every form:

"KANSAS.

"The monthly report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture is filled with information of great interest to those who are interested in the development of the resources of the State. We give a few of the matters touched upon, as follows: Reports from fifty-eight counties indicate that the State is remarkably free from insect intruders, such as Hessian fly, chinch-bugs, etc. The farmers are generally holding their wheat crop for higher prices. About 80 per cent. of the corn crop is being held, largely for higher prices, although bad roads have kept back some. In the last monthly report the estimated area of wheat sown was given at 1,243,315 acres—an increase of 386,125 acres, or 45 per cent., over the previous year. It is now thought that the estimates were too low, and that the increase is much larger. The total pre-emptions of Government land during the year are 634,702 acres, and there are 6,845,298 acres yet to be taken. Population the past year has increased 23 per cent.; taxable property, 13 per cent.; State taxes, 1.16 per cent.; and the State debt, \$1 91 per capita."

This boastful paragraph doubtless alludes to some of the very counties which are included in Judge Dillon's remarks. If so, these repudiators have the audacity to set forth the value of their lands as an encouragement to immigration when these lands have no doubt been made valuable by the use of the very funds for the payment of which they now refuse to make provision. I think it the duty of every public print in the country to warn emigrants not to locate among a people so false to their interest and duty and so tainted with this moral pestilence of repudiation. These remarks I trust will furnish occasion for an article which will be more effective than anything I can say. I have no desire for my name to be made public, but, having in years past suffered a loss of some ten or twelve thousand dollars from rascally repudiators, I am determined as far as it lies in my power to set my face against this damnable heresy.

Yours truly,

G.

BOSTON, February 2, 1878.

## STATE SUITS FOR STATE DEBTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your article in No. 657 of the *Nation*, "Can States be made to pay their Debts?" opens an important enquiry into the undeveloped powers of the Federal Constitution. Looking at it from the highest States-right point, it would seem that such powers do exist. As between sovereign States, *inter gentes*, each has the right to go to war with another to make that State pay debts which she owes to the citizens of the first. But all gave up that right of war when they entered into the Union, agreeing to substitute for the *jus belli* the right to bring the repudiating State before a tribunal of international arbitration, the Supreme Court of the United States. The Eleventh Amendment in no way diminishes this right of one State to protect her own citizens by suing the State which denies him his rights, but only declares that a citizen shall not make war—*i.e.*, sue a State—but a State may. Therefore, when Iowa refuses to pay citizens of Massachusetts their just debts, Massachusetts cannot make reprisals, issue letters-of-marque, or declare war on Iowa, as she could do if both were sovereign States. But Massachusetts can call upon her citizens to place their claims in her hands for collection, and she can sue Iowa in the Supreme Court of the United States for the debt and can recover judgment. What process can be devised to execute the judgment of the court is to be wrought out of the "undeveloped powers"; but when the Constitution confers jurisdiction it grants no barren sceptre: all power necessary for the full and efficient exercise of it will be found when necessary.

B. T. J.

RICHMOND, VA., February 1, 1878.

## WESTERN MORALS AGAIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You have shown your willingness to print, in the *Nation* of January 24, the protest of one of the great number of Western men who believe in the single gold standard, and who find their attempts to make

converts seriously hindered by the volleys of vituperation from the press of New York. You even admit that there is a great deal of force in what Mr. Mason says as to the uselessness of vituperation: but you ask, "is it inexcusable on the part of the Eastern press?"

Permit me, as another one of that number of Western men, to say that it is inexcusable. When the heresies of inflation and of the need of "more money" obtained circulation "among the farmers and others who are very suspicious of money-changers and Congressmen," the Eastern press passed the subject almost without notice, or simply ridiculed its folly; but in times like these the great majority of men are far more inclined to lend their ear to men who assign *some* reasons for the shrinkage of values and the prostration of business, and who give them some hopes of a remedy. Demagogues knew but too well how to turn this to their advantage, gaining popularity by talking and writing continually about bloated bondholders, moneyed institutions, and corrupt Congressmen, until these demagogues themselves became our legislators, governors, and Congressmen; witness in this State of Missouri a Colman, Boggy, Bland, and others, too numerous to name.

The defeat of the inflationists in Ohio silenced them for a time, but also confirmed your Eastern men in merely ridiculing and denouncing the suffering people of the West. Is it to be wondered at that when the silver movement began—prompted by the great mining interests of the Western country—all the inflationists again supported it? Not from dishonesty, but from errors of judgment, which demagogues did everything to spread and to strengthen, but which the Eastern press did nothing to correct, except "calling names."

You say: "The charge that the demonetization of silver had been brought about by a conspiracy of bondholders and speculators" was opened by the West, and that it was difficult for the natural man to be polite to adversaries who went on degrading their country by the account of the credulity and corruption of Congress, when the facts disproving this charge could have been easily obtained by simply consulting the *Congressional Record*. The charge emanated from Congress itself. Senator Jones, of Nevada, in his speech delivered April 24, 1876, and sent broadcast over this country, opened with the assertion that it was "a wrong committed, no doubt unwittingly yet no less certainly, in the interest of a few plutocrats in England and in Germany," and that the undoing of that wrong "must be as open as the doing was indirect and implied." There, in Congress, the charge was made, and it has not been refuted or contradicted then and there, as it should have been, and not until the *Nation* produced the facts, almost two years later! Is it not natural that the false charge, so long and often repeated, uncontradicted, stuck well?

I fully agree with Mr. Mason that facts and arguments are wanted, and that the argument of expediency will be more effective than that of morality. It is difficult for most men to comprehend and believe that it would be immoral to pay in silver, recognized as money from time immemorial: they have learned in school that Congress has the power "to regulate the value thereof"—the Constitution of the United States says so; and did not nearly all our national economists teach that gold and silver are the best money and *immutable in value*? It will take a long time before even statesmen will understand that these were grave errors; that value is the relation of things in exchange with each other, constantly varying according to demand and supply, and, consequently, *constantly changing*, so that no immutable value or measure of values can exist—least of all can the relation of two things in exchange with each other and with other things be unalterably fixed. It will take a long time before legislators will fully understand that Government is and has ever been powerless to do more, in coining money and making it a legal tender, than to establish a denominator, whose purchasing power, however, is beyond Government control. And whilst I hold that a bi-metallic system could be established, consisting in coins simply denoting the weight of pure metal they contain (as "one ounce pure silver," "one pennyweight gold," or, under the metric system, one, two, three decagrams, etc.), making only a small charge for coinage, leaving their exchange value to the immutable laws of exchange—"demand and supply"—I have no hope that Congress will now adopt any such reforms. But the silver-men and the gold-men are too befogged in their prejudices on this question.

It is much easier to understand that, even if the silver dollar were re-monetized, exactly as it was before 1873, and the Government would make it a legal tender for all debts, public or private, without limit, every dollar which we, *the people*, owe for goods imported, or otherwise, to the people of foreign countries, and every pound of tea, coffee, sugar

and other goods which we may hereafter import from England, France, or Germany, will have to be paid in *gold only*. We do not owe dollars, but pounds and shillings, or francs, or thalers, *gold*; on the other hand, what foreign countries buy from us, our flour, bacon, cotton, and *all* products which we export, will be paid to us in dollars, *silver*. On which side will then be the advantage of the cheaper money? The amount of money which we pay annually for our imports exceeds one thousand million dollars; the amount we receive for our exports amounts to another thousand million dollars, whilst the amount of interest which the Government pays on its indebtedness is but one hundred million dollars, and of this a large portion to its own people!

Let our laborers and our farmers understand that they would receive their wages and pay for the products of their labor in the depreciated silver, and would have to pay for their coffee and sugar and a thousand other things at gold prices, and Western men will sooner understand and believe you than when you taunt them for being debtors, and insult them by saying "Western morals are in a bad way." If Western morals are in a bad way, the Eastern press has done little to correct them, and Eastern Credit-Mobiliers, municipal and other rings, bankrupt life-insurance companies and merchant princes settling at 25 cts. on the dollar, have set the bad example.

Yours, etc.,

Isidor Bush.

St. Louis, Mo., January 31, 1878.

[What was the Western press doing when Senator Jones told this story? Had the Chicago and Cincinnati and St. Louis papers no duty with regard to it?—ED. NATION.]

#### THE INDEBTED FARMER'S PROFIT IN SILVER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The case of the indebted farmer may be put into figures as follows. Suppose that he raises 10,000 bushels of wheat, worth \$1 gold, on his farm, and owes \$1,000:

His crop will bring.....\$10,000 gold,  
Expenses, including living, say.....9,000 "

He can pay the debt with surplus.....\$1,000 "

If he can sell his crop for \$1.10 in silver, his crop will bring:  
10,000 bushels, at \$1.10.....\$11,000  
He still estimates expenses at.....9,000

Surplus.....\$2,000 silver.

which will pay his debt and leave him \$1,000. Should we be flooded with silver from other countries, and silver decline further, he thinks he would make an additional gain.

The answer to this *prima-facie* case is to be found in the prices current of this country for the past thirteen years. We have been trying inflation, and can ascertain just how it worked. If our farmer makes a profit by depreciating the dollar, some one else at home loses it. Liverpool will pay no more, no matter what metal dollars and cents are made of. The farmer deals with three principal classes: the laborer, the storekeeper, and the banks—perhaps the savings-bank which lent him the money to buy and stock the farm. To these must go the whole proceeds of the crop until the debt is paid, and out of these he must get the advantage he hopes to make by forcing upon them silver, while he still sells his crop for gold, or its equivalent.

Now, this expected profit all hangs upon one thing: Can the farmer compel his laborer to take a silver dollar instead of a gold one, and the storekeeper, who sells him groceries, tools, and clothes, to accept silver in pay without raising his price? If he can accomplish this feat, he will make the gain, and those who advanced him labor, merchandise, and money will divide the loss. Looking back, however, to the period from 1865 to 1868, when gold was at a premium of from 30 to 40 per cent. above par, all articles of ordinary consumption were 40 to 60 per cent. higher than now. When gold dropped to 115 and 110, after 1870, merchandise declined more slowly, remaining 25 to 35 per cent. higher than present, which are practically gold prices. Those who watched the markets with care consider that, until the panic of 1873-74 shook prices down toward their present scale, retail prices in currency had ever since the war ranged from 15 to 20 per cent. higher than gold for most articles in common use—that is to say, if the gold price was \$1, when gold was worth \$1.30 in paper, the currency price of the article was \$1.40 to \$1.50.

It now becomes important for the farmer to figure this closely, for if

prices in silver advance more than 10 per cent. he will lose money. He cannot get more than 10 per cent. premium for his wheat. The same thing that happened before would occur again for the same reason—if silver should prove equally fluctuating. The storekeeper, in fixing his prices, always added an extra margin to cover risk of fluctuation or further depreciation of currency. He could watch Liverpool at least as closely as the farmer, and, always knowing the prices of gold and silver, could tell just how much to pay for grain. The farmer possessed no such check on the prices of groceries, clothes, and tools, and the fluctuating currency always told against him, and always will.

The laborer can barely make both ends meet now. As soon as he finds prices in silver advance for all he buys, he will demand \$1.10; and, if prices advance more than 10 per cent., he must have more than \$1.10 where he now gets \$1. If the farmer moves quickly, he may make something out of his laborers before they combine and get prices up, but he cannot hope to get ahead of the storekeeper.

Admitting that silver will be steadier than paper was, and keeping within the safest limits, should gold continue worth only 10 per cent. more than silver, there is no reasonable doubt that prices of all staple commodities, not exported, will advance 15 per cent. above present prices, the extra 5 per cent. being the margin needed against fluctuation of currency. The farmer's case will compare with his present one as follows:

#### GOLD BASIS.

10,000 bushels at \$1 gold.....	\$10,000
Expenses 90 per cent.....	9,000
Surplus.....	\$1,000

#### SILVER BASIS.

10,000 bushels at \$1.10.....	\$11,000 silver.
Expenses, \$9,000 + 15 per cent., or \$1,350.....	10,350
Surplus.....	\$650

Should the farmer be able to get any profit out of depreciation, it will be what he can take out of his hired man; and when the laborer gets his wages levelled up the farmer will be worse off than ever.

To sum up:

He may pay his creditor in silver with his surplus crop, and thus get something out of him; but on all his expenses the price of supplies will more than counterbalance this advantage.

The loss from depreciated currency would first fall upon the thirty millions of laborers in the country, who could only get wages raised by a series of struggles in which they would suffer before the advance was conceded.

The creditor would have to stand his share.

The farmer would feel his loss, as already shown, while the only men who in the long run could profit by the change are the middle-men, who protect themselves from fluctuations in currency by additional margins, and the broker and speculator, who trade upon rapid changes of value.

F.

Boston, February 3, 1878.

#### PROF. WALKER ON BI-METALLISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Prof. Walker, after quoting a passage translated from Hertzka, and published in the *Evening Post*, says: "The demonstration is complete; but I am not satisfied that Mr. Hertzka and his American translator are on equally firm ground when they argue that the extreme case of 1:1 affords a test of the bi-metallic theory, and that if it be found to fail here it would fail on any ratio assumed." And again: "When Hertzka's translator, after giving his demonstration of the impossibility of keeping gold and silver in concurrent circulation at a ratio far wide of the market ratio, say 1:1, draws the conclusion that 'In whatever degree the legally fixed ratio should differ from the market ratio, in that degree the results described would follow'; and again: 'All this holds true, according to its measure, of any other legal ratio than 1:1, if it were not the true ratio of the market,' he overlooks the important principle stated by Mr. Mill, that, in efforts towards certain ends, 'small means do not merely produce small effects: they produce no effects at all.'"

I do not remember the remark here attributed to Mr. Mill. The author says it was made in regard to "efforts towards certain ends." It certainly could not be true of any "means" other than artificial expedients. Artificial expedients, whether great or small, not only may not have proportionate effects, but they may have no effects, an observation which it seems that the bi-metallists ought to ponder, since it is they who propose



to employ "means" of that order. Hertzka and his translator, however, are discussing the operation of economic forces, not "efforts towards an end," or artificial expedients at all. It is as impossible to conceive of any force whatsoever which does not produce an exactly corresponding effect in economies as in physics. Artificial expedients may change the direction and incidence or the form of economic forces, but they cannot diminish their effects in the slightest degree. Hence, it follows that the law of action of any force in economics, when once determined, applies to all degrees of that force. Regarding this passage, therefore, from the interest of financial science, it demands a very earnest protest. The unwary reader is likely to go away with the impression that he has seen a strong and clever point turned against the enemies of bi-metallism, when, in fact, the author has let slip entirely the subject he was treating, and has insinuated the most mischievous confusion possible in financial science, that between the domain of artificial expedients and the domain of natural law.

Prof. Walker quotes from many writers for and against bi-metallism, but it may be doubted whether his readers will get any clear idea of the issue. The question in issue is not whether it would be expedient to use both metals at once or not. The mono-metallists are not those who *want* to use only one metal, and the bi-metallists those who want to use two, supposing that we had free choice. It is a scientific question as to whether it is *possible*, under the natural laws controlling the matter, for us to use two. Those who take the negative are called mono-metallists. The affirmative is divided into two schools. The first affirms that legislation can so limit the fluctuations in value of the metals that neither metal shall be permanently demonetized, but that the one out of use can be recovered, if occasion arises. This is the doctrine of Wolowski and the adherents of the alternate standard. The other school affirms that legislation can hold the two metals so closely to a fixed ratio of value (however closely that may be) that they *will* circulate together. This is bi-metallism, properly so called. These two propositions ought to be carefully discriminated, for they are of very different scientific value. As to the former, I assert that, if true, the legislation proposed would alter the incidence of the effects of changes in economic forces and would be an abuse of legislation. As to the second, which teaches that legislation can *control* natural forces for definite results, I hold that it is a heresy which an economist is bound to combat.

Prof. Walker nowhere discusses this issue, nor does he present it to his readers. He leaves them to infer that his discussion is adequate to the subject, and that, with an international coinage union, starting at the market ratio, a concurrent circulation would exist. It is unfortunate that when he comes to the climax of his discussion, where we are entitled to the most calm and severe presentation of the reasons for believing in the efficacy of the double legal tender to keep up a concurrent circulation, he should put us off with the illustration of the dog tied to the express train, and the man driving a pair of horses. He admits the force of Hertzka's demonstration, but does not tell within what limits that demonstration seems to him to yield to the action of the double legal tender. The dog story fills this important gap, and leaves the author in the position of teaching that the limitations on the action of an economic force are analogous to the limitations on a dog's power to run.

I will not take up your space to analyze this or the other illustration, to show their inappropriateness, or the mischievous fallacies which they suggest. It is enough to say that those who regard money as an organ in the industrial organism cannot admit any analogy between the power of legislation to interfere with the functions of money and the power of intelligence, strength, and machinery to control brute force. The author, applying his illustration, says that "the success of the [bi-metallic] experiment will probably depend upon the strength of the impulse to divergence, as compared with the strength of the carriage, of the harness, and of the driver's arm." I suppose it will not be denied that, whatever restraint the driver exerts over the horses, is won at the expense of the carriage, the harness, and the driver's arm, so that the illustration, if otherwise admissible, would only lead us up to the question: At the expense of what other parts of the industrial organism will any restraint exerted on the fluctuations in the value of the metals be won? The economic forces leading to a change in value can only be diverted by legislation; they exert their full effect somewhere. Formerly France secured the compensatory action by assuming the burden and the loss. Under the coinage union the loss on one metal would be transferred to the other, to the gain of bullion brokers and false coiners.

We come next to a paragraph in which there is an attempt to discuss the question of practical action of the double legal tender. In 1870 the

average ratio was 1:15.57; in 1871 it was 1:15.58. It is asked whether if the ratio of 1:15.57 had been adopted in 1870 by all civilized nations, it would not have counteracted the forces which produced the ratio of 1:15.58 in 1871. The answer given is that it would, seeing that debtors would seize upon the depreciated metal and, by their demand, restore its value.

Let us first fill up the hypothesis. It must be assumed that in 1870 all civilized nations fixed upon the ratio of 1:15.57, and supplied themselves with coin of both metals at that rate, say half the circulation of each metal. I cannot conceive of any such thing as practically realizable, but that is the hypothesis. Now, new supplies of the metal do not come into use in the requisite proportions all over the earth, but the sources of supply are local. Hence, the metals do not have the same ratio of value in the Atlantic and Pacific States, and if there were a gold-mine in New Haven and a silver-mine in New York there would not be the same ratio in those two cities. Suppose, then, that the silver-mines of the United States produce an extraordinary supply. If there were not a free mint this supply could not act on the value of the coin, and the supposition that there were not a free mint is the only condition on which the supposed extraordinary demand for silver could at once prevent a depreciation of silver coin. Thus, if there were not an open mint silver would not fall, and if there were not an open mint an increased demand would keep it from falling. Hence, it appears that the bi-metallists require another specification in their hypothesis—that, when the concurrent circulation, at a fixed ratio, has been provided, the mint be closed. In this form it will hardly be necessary to discuss the proposition with any one. Take, then, the case of an open mint, which, of course, is the only case contemplated. At the ratio of 1:15.57 the dollar should be 23.22 grains fine gold or 361.354 grains fine silver. The new supplies of silver would be taken to the mint and would increase the volume of the circulation. Silver would now fall, since, with the monetary system supposed, it would require only the lightest shade of preference to decide which metal to hold and which to give—*i. e.*, which to withdraw from a redundant circulation. A small force would exert a small effect, or would require a long time, by affecting only that small class of transactions which employ large amounts of coin. We think at once of exchange transactions and of the coin reserve of banks of issue. The fact that a light shade of difference would not lead all debtors, great and small, to demand silver, is just the reason why the "demand" on which the bi-metallists count would not have the magnitude or the effect they anticipate. If silver fell to 1:15.58 the silver dollar ought to weigh 361.7676, or the coined dollar in use would be worth .041 of a mill less than the gold dollar. Such a difference would not affect all transactions, but it would amount to \$64.10 on \$100,000, and I think no one will deny that that difference would determine the choice of metal to use in large transactions. I have no hesitation in affirming that one-tenth of that difference, or a variation from 1:15.57 to 1:15.571—*i. e.*, \$6.41 on \$100,000—would suffice, only in a longer time, to overthrow the balance of the monetary system supposed. So long as the new supply continued to be offered at the lightest shade of depreciation (and it would be so offered unless it happened to fall in with an increased requirement for money), the demand of those who could profit by it would simply draw it into the circulation, gold being given out to the same extent, and, instead of the depreciation of silver being counteracted, it would depend entirely on the amount of the new supply of silver whether the movement would stop when the proportion of silver in the concurrent circulation was raised from .5 to .51, or to .9, or to the whole; that is, the concurrent circulation would be destroyed in part or altogether.

It is a necessary assumption of the bi-metallists, although they have never discussed the point, that the metal exported under these circumstances would be silver, just as the domestic debtor would pay silver. This is certainly an error. Foreign debts are paid by bills, and American drawers would have to ship gold to draw against, if they wanted to keep their bills up to standard. Or, to put it otherwise, as prices rose here from the addition to the total circulation, and as gold was thrown out by the advantage from using silver, gold would be superfluous here and would lose value, as compared with its value elsewhere. Silver would be sent here from other "civilized countries," and the upshot of the experiment would be that we should use silver only, while the nations which have no silver-mines would use gold only. To sum up, then, the bi-metallic theory is reduced to this dilemma: If the concurrent circulation were not accurately established it could not be established at all, but the money would be in stable equilibrium, consisting of one metal only. On the other hand, the more accurately the bi-metallic theory was realized the

less stable, and not the more stable, would be the equilibrium of the metals in the exchange. The slightest turn in the ratio of value of the market would suffice to throw out either one metal or the other to a greater or less extent. To this result every scientific investigation of the question must come, enforcing the conclusion that a concurrent circulation, save when and while the legal and market ratios coincide, is a natural impossibility.

Yours respectfully,

"HERTZKA'S TRANSLATOR."

NEW HAVEN, January 21, 1878.

## Notes.

THE important announcement is made of the union of the two firms of

H. O. Houghton & Co. and J. R. Osgood & Co. under the name of Houghton, Osgood & Co. The president of the New Hampshire Antiquarian Society, Rev. Silas Ketchum, has undertaken to compile a 'Dictionary of New Hampshire Biography.' He desires minute information in regard to persons, living or dead, who deserve a place in such a work. His address is Poquonock, Hartford Co., Conn. The last number (4) of vol. i. of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is adorned with an illuminated title-page for the volume; a steel portrait of William Penn, at the age of twenty-two; and a map of the battle-field of Germantown, accompanied by a lucid account of the battle—perhaps, too, as authoritative as any we shall ever have. The January number of the *Magazine of American History* gives a steel portrait and a sketch of the life of William Walton, who built the famous dwelling still bearing his name in Franklin Square a century and a quarter ago. It contains, besides, two very interesting articles on "The Fall of Alamo" and "The Portraiture of Washington"—the latter with special reference to the General's false teeth.—Prof. J. E. Todd, in the *American Naturalist* for February, discusses the distribution of timber in Southwestern Iowa, where there is great diversity of surface but substantial identity of soil, and concludes that Prof. J. D. Whitney's theory of too close a soil will not account for the treelessness of the prairies. "The fundamental condition of forest growth is a constant medium humidity of air and soil."—President Samuel H. Seudder's address before the Appalachian Mountain Club, published in the February *Appalachian*, is a remarkable résumé of the past year's explorations and surveys, State and national, in this country. It deserves a wide distribution among Congressmen and State legislators.—By special arrangement with Trübner & Co., the *Library Journal* will print in two double numbers (January and February) the unabridged proceedings of the late International Conference of Librarians in London. No extra copies beyond the subscription list will be printed.—Bulletin No. 44 of the Boston Public Library continues the Check-list for American Local History as far as New York City.—An elaborate history of Middlesex Co., Mass., in preparation by Samuel Adams Drake, will be published in two volumes, for subscribers only, by Estes & Lauriat, Boston.—B. Westermann & Co. send us the first number of *L'Athenaeum Belge*, published January 6, at Brussels. It is a tolerably close copy of its great namesake, but its meagre eight pages and fortnightly appearance give the enterprise an air of feebleness which we hope is only temporary. We learn from its advertisements that a 'Parliamentary History of Belgium, from 1831 to 1880,' by Louis Hymans, has begun to be issued in parts. It will make two solid volumes of 1,200 pages each.—Prof. Stanley Jevons is engaged on an abridgment of Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' to which he will add copious original notes for the use of students. Macmillan & Co. are to publish the work.—George P. Rowell & Co. have converted their annual 'American Newspaper Directory' into a quarterly, beginning with the January issue, which is before us. It is characterized by the typographical neatness and accuracy, and evidence of conscientious labor, which distinguish the publications of this firm, and which savor (at least to the uninitiated) more of public spirit than of business calculation.

—The fifty-second annual report of the President of Harvard College has the usual claims upon the attention of the public interested in the higher education in this country. Already the section discussing the cost of a course at Harvard has been widely copied by the press, and certainly it was high time that some reliable estimate should be obtainable by would-be patrons of the college. In round numbers, \$500 per annum is the minimum (food and clothing included), \$600 is economical, \$800 moderate, \$1,300 ample, and there is no limit beyond this. The second estimate allows for the student's taking his meals in Memorial Hall, at a charge of \$175. Moderate as this sum is, it appears that it could be ma-

terially diminished if some friend of the college would relieve the enterprise of the debt incurred in equipping the Hall and kitchens, which now amounts to \$43,069 66. Mr. Quincy A. Shaw has set a good example in this direction. The benevolent millionaire, in fact, is reminded on every page of this report of the splendid opportunities of increasing the resources of the University. The Divinity School is straitened and needs about \$50,000; the Dental School is sadly in want of an endowment; the Library building must make haste slowly, and money is needed for salaries and wages more than for books; \$100,000 would enable the Observatory to catch up with the arrears of publication of its achievements. The Medical School is making money; and the Law School is in good financial condition, though expecting soon to be pinched for room. "The best forms of gift to the University are now these," says President Eliot on p. 41, to which we refer all testators. The Botanic Garden and Arboretum should not be overlooked. The latter is an establishment only five years old, yet it has been the cause of the planting during the past season, in the New England States alone, of nearly half a million trees. Before taking leave of this report, we must notice the protest of the Law School against the recent rules of the New York Court of Appeals. The Court itself will, we are sure, acknowledge the justice of it. The rules shorten the term of pupillage for admission to practise first in favor of college graduates, and next in favor of those who have studied in a New York law school—an invidious distinction, which, if imitated in other States, would take away the motive for existence of any law school of national scope.

—We commented a fortnight ago on the address of the *Christian Advocate* to its "non-renewing subscriber," in which it virtually promised everlasting salvation and the paper for one year on the receipt of \$2 70; and as the editor is a prominent divine, we take it for granted he knew what he was saying. His offer has, however, called forth severe criticism from others besides ourselves, and last week he answered the fault-finders, and our readers will be entertained by hearing that the answer is simply that his method of pushing his circulation *pays*; that it has brought him in 18,000 subscribers "during the present canvass, which is yet far from being complete." With this, he says, "he is satisfied," and he insinuates that those who do not get subscriptions in this way, and object to it, are simply crying "sour grapes." His views on temperance appear also to have got him into trouble with the religious press, owing to his saying that (our readers will forgive our reproducing his remarks—there is no other way of dealing with such people), "if Christ made alcoholic wine he must be put on trial, not as a sot, but as a moderate drinker, who, according to the law of human nature, with so many million illustrations, was possibly saved from becoming an example for sots by being crucified in early manhood."

—We have received several letters enquiring the best method for calculating the gold value of the bullion in silver coins. The shortest and best way is, having found the price per ounce in New York of silver, to multiply that price by the number of ounces in \$1,000 of the coins whose bullion value is sought, and thence derive the value of a dollar of these coins. In every thousand of trade-dollars there are 875 ounces of silver 900 fine; in every thousand 412½-grain dollars there are 859½ ounces, and in the subsidiary coins (halves, quarters, and dimes) of the face value of \$1,000 there are 803¾ ounces of silver 900 fine. It follows, therefore, that if the price per ounce is multiplied by the number of ounces the gold value of the bullion in \$1,000 of the coins given is ascertained. To illustrate, suppose that silver bullion 1,000 fine can be sold in New York for \$1 15½ gold per ounce. As standard silver, the kind that the coins contain, is 900 fine, silver 900 fine would be worth \$1.0395 per ounce; this price multiplied by 859½ will give the gold value of the bullion in a thousand 412½-grain dollars, which would be \$893 31; one hundred dollars would be worth \$89 33; and one dollar \$0.8933. At the same price of silver the formula for the gold value of the bullion in a thousand trade-dollars would be \$1.0395x875; and for the gold value of the bullion in subsidiary coins of the aggregate face value of \$1,000, \$1.0395x803¾. In the calculations that we have from time to time published we have taken as the New York equivalent of the London price the exact price at which the bullion business between London and New York was done on the day on which the calculation was made. Nothing could be more accurate, for it shows the price at which the silver in the coins could be sold on the days named; and if purchases or sales of silver were to take place they would be at that price. In making the calculation of the New York equivalent allowance has to be made for the difference between the English standard and our own, the rate of sterling bills on the day, the rates of insurance,



freight, etc., several of which items may change so that on two different days when the London price is the same the New York equivalent may not be the same. The bullion dealers are the only persons who in getting the New York equivalent must be accurate, and who, from the nature of their business, must make allowance for these items, which are too frequently overlooked in general calculations.

—A Western correspondent writes us :

"Two or three weeks ago there was some remark in the *Nation* as to the want of influence of our universities and colleges on public questions. There is one interesting fact : the one paper in Wisconsin which has been from first to last sound and unflinching on the currency question is the *Madison Democrat*, which has all this time been entirely controlled by university graduates. This is good, so far as it goes."

—The death is reported, at the age of seventy, of Dr. John Doran, one of the most industrious of English men of letters. He had but just published a work on 'London in the Jacobite Times,' and in the January number of the *Nineteenth Century*, which arrived here almost at the same time as the news of his death, there is a characteristic article of his on "Shakspeare in France." Most of his books were but little more than compilations. The one by which he was most widely known, 'Their Majesties' Servants,' is a biographical and anecdotal history of the English stage from Betterton to Kean ; it is excellently put together, lively in style, and full of special knowledge. At one time editor of the *Athenæum*, of late years Dr. Doran has been editor of *Notes and Queries*, a post in which he succeeded Mr. Thoms, the originator of the paper, and for which he was admirably qualified. With the odds and ends of literature and the by-ways of literary history his acquaintance was extended and minute, as even the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' to which he contributed, testifies.

—The death, since our last issue, of George Cruikshank, breaks a link which united old times to new. The same man who, in his youthful strength, was the caricaturist of the dandies and their Turveydrop master, has designed and etched, for children who are children still, charming illustrations of fairy tales, and still later has given the designs for a Christmas book of what seems only "the other day." At the time that the first Napoleon assumed the crown George Cruikshank's etchings began to appear ; when Napoleon fell the artist was beginning to be famous. Throughout the stormy politics of the years that followed, a time of pamphlets and caricatures, he was the leading political caricaturist, wielding an influence of which we can but dimly conceive. Those of his works which Thackeray (surely no mean judge of such art as his) declared to be his favorites were produced during the few years after the death of George III., the time of trials for treason and Government prosecution for libel, conspiracies, and Peterloo massacres, and the trial of Queen Caroline. It seems almost as if one George Cruikshank had passed away in 1827, the year of Canning's death, and that a new one, a powerful and gentle book-illustrator, succeeded. For the past fifty years, indeed, it is by his book illustrations, both in woodcut and etching, that Cruikshank has been known. Perhaps the very culminating point of his artistic power is to be fixed forty years ago, at a time when the illustrations to Smollett and Fielding's 'Don Quixote' and the Waverley Novels had become famous, and when Bentley's *Miscellany* began to be published. In the first four years of that publication appeared the wonderful etchings to 'Oliver Twist,' those to 'Jack Sheppard,' and the 'Ingoldsby Legends,' and, by way of contrast, some of our artist's very feeblest work in the illustrations to Ainsworth's 'Guy Fawkes.' The *Comic Almanack*, with twelve etchings a year, occupies all the years from 1835 to 1853 ; these etchings were probably the best known at the time of all Cruikshank's work, and their average of merit is very high. The great Exhibition of 1857 supplied him with a seemingly inexhaustible subject ; this and the last years of the *Comic Almanack* mark the close of his strongest time. Since 1853 the amount of work produced by the great designer has been but small, and though some of it is very good and deservedly famous, it is of a less powerful designer than that of an earlier time. The 'Life of Sir John Falstaff' came out in 1858, the 'Fairy Library' in 1864, 'The Brownies' in 1870. Cruikshank died in his eighty-sixth year.

—We drew attention last year to the 'Théâtre de Campagne,' edited by M. Ernest Legouvé, the collaborator of Scribe in the play of "Adrienne Lecouvreur." Its two volumes contained fifteen or sixteen bright little plays suitable for parlor performance. Altogether the best of the editor's own contributions was "Autour d'un Berceau," a pretty and pathetic little monologue, the sole actor in which is a young mother. The monologue, as a form of dramatic composition, is a favorite in

France, although unduly neglected among us. Influenced, perhaps, by the success which has attended the 'Théâtre de Campagne,' another publisher, Tresse, has issued two series of "Saynètes et Monologues." "Saynète" may be roughly Englished as a dramatic trifle, and most of the *saynètes* in these two volumes are indeed trifles—only the suggestion of a situation, deftly and delicately treated, two or three lightly-drawn characters, a few pages of dialogue, and nothing more. It is the many monologues which give novelty and value to these volumes. Certainly, it is surprising to see what variety and what vivacity can be given to a play in which there is only one part. The "Voyage dans mes Poches" of M. Charles Monselet is both witty and humorous. M. Léon Supersac's "La Porte est close," also in the first volume, is really a complete drama, in spite of its limited *dramatis personæ*. But the best things in the books are half a dozen monologues by M. Charles Cros, and of these "La Bonne," in the second volume, and "L'Affaire de la Rue Beaubourg," in the first, are especially amusing ; in the latter the monotony of the monologue is most ingeniously avoided by allowing the one actor to assume at times a second part. In short, these *saynètes* and monologues are most of them polished and pointed, few of them broad, and none of them long. They bear witness, also, to the growth in France of the study of English literature. There is a reminiscence of "Locksley Hall" in M. Paul Ferrier's "Le Roman d'un Pupille" :

"Et qui vous aimerait, ayant tous ces défauts,  
Un peu plus que ses chiens, et moins que ses chevaux."

And nearly the whole of "La Perle," by M. Théodore de Banville, has been borrowed from Shakspeare's "Antony and Cleopatra." The imitation is often very close and at times happy.

—The history of French operatic music, in all its minutest details, is getting itself written very rapidly. Of the very interesting and copiously-annotated catalogue of the Bibliothèque Musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra we have already made mention. The first volume is now complete, and one instalment has been issued of the second, covering the years 1807-1826, and containing the portrait of Spontini, etched by M. Le Rat. The two succeeding numbers will, for most readers, be the most entertaining, for they will record the many brilliant successes of the past fifty years, "the epoch Rossini-Meyerbeer," to use the locution of M. Lajarte, the compiler of the catalogue. And while M. Lajarte is thus tracing the main itinerary of opera in France, more than one of his colleagues have been exploring its byways. M. Adolphe Jullien is the author of nearly a dozen musical monographs of varying value and bulk, of which not the least important is the latest, 'La Cour et l'Opéra sous Louis XVI,' (12me, pp. 369. New York: P. W. Christern). In searching in the national archives for documents cited by M. Desnoiresterres in his excellent work on 'Gluck et Piccini,' M. Jullien came again and again upon the names of Salieri and Sacchini. Knowing how scant were the biographic details about these composers, whose lives and labors had been overshadowed by the conflict of their immediate predecessors and masters, Gluck and Piccini, M. Jullien felt his curiosity piqued ; he made a thorough investigation of the documents, discovering many new and important points in French musical history, which he has set forth at length in 'La Cour et l'Opéra.' His title is well chosen indeed ; the paternal government managed the amusements of its subjects with as much intrigue, as much log-rolling and wire-pulling and pipe-laying, as it managed any other important affair of state. The volume—the separate chapters of which have previously appeared in two musical periodicals—contains two distinct biographies. The pages devoted to Salieri are the more interesting, and the chapter recounting the collaboration of Salieri and Beaumarchais in "Tarare" comes most apropos. Beaumarchais, after Gluck and before Wagner, enunciated the fundamental ideas which are to dominate the art-work of the future. M. Jullien points out many analogies between the words of Beaumarchais and the words of Wagner (see p. 250 et circa). He also indicates the similarity in character between Salieri and Beaumarchais, a similarity which rendered the execution by the composer of the musical suggestions of the author an easy task. Beaumarchais even went so far as to send Salieri airs which he had noted down, desiring the composer to use them in a given situation. M. Taine has likened Sheridan to Beaumarchais ; here is another point of resemblance, for Michael Kelly has told us that Sheridan, although he knew nothing of music, had this same feeling of musical effect. The author of the "School for Scandal" and the author of the "Mariage de Figaro" wrote each an opera, and both the "Ducina" and "Tarare" were marked successes. M. Jullien cites the malicious reproduction by one of Beaumarchais' critics, apropos to "Tarare," of the jest of *Figaro* : "Ce qui ne vaut pas la peine d'être dit, on le chante."

—Pasquale Villari, author of the admirable 'Life and Times of Savonarola,' has recently published the first volume of an equally important work, '*Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi Tempi, illustrati con nuovi documenti*' (Florence, 1877. 8vo, pp. xx.-647). No Italian, perhaps, except Petrarch has been the subject of so much study and has been judged so variously as Machiavelli. Like Dante and Petrarch, he has followed in his fame all the vicissitudes of his country, and has been upbraided as a traitor and lauded as a patriot. The cause of such diverse opinions is, as the author of the present work justly says, to be found in an ignorance of the Florentine statesman's times and circumstances, and to form a correct judgment of him one must be well acquainted with the Italian Renaissance. In order that the reader may have this necessary acquaintance with the period, Villari has prefixed to his work an introduction which is nothing less than an elaborate monograph of three hundred pages on the Italian Renaissance. This part of the book is divided into four divisions: The Renaissance; The principal Italian States; Literature; and Political Conditions of Italy at the end of the Fifteenth Century. In the first division the author gives a masterly review of the whole period, explaining in a luminous manner its contradictions and solving many of its enigmas. Then the five important states, Milan, Florence, Venice, Rome, and Naples, are separately and briefly discussed and their complicated relations unravelled. The next chapter is devoted to the rise and progress of Humanism, embracing also Italian literature. Although this subject has been so thoroughly treated by Voigt, Burckhardt, Von Reumont, and Symonds, the reader will still find Villari's treatment fresh and attractive. The final chapter of the introduction discusses the election of Pope Alexander VI. and the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, and vividly pictures Rome under the Borgias and Florence under Savonarola. The remainder of the volume is filled with a portion of the First Book of the life of Machiavelli, which embraces the period from his birth, in 1469, to his dismissal from office in 1512, the present volume ending with the year 1507. This period includes the interesting embassies to France and the more famous one to Caesar Borgia, in the Romagna. More than a hundred pages are devoted to an appendix of documents, many now published for the first time and greatly adding to the value of the work. We cannot speak too highly of the manner in which Villari has done his work; he has ransacked the archives of Italy, and it must not be forgotten that we owe to this thorough search the invaluable despatches of the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, edited by Villari in 1876. The author possesses a clear and attractive style, and, in spite of his strong convictions, is, it seems to us, candid and impartial. German and English translations of the above volume have recently appeared, the latter by the author's wife, who, we believe, is an English lady and a novelist of considerable power.

#### SCHLIEHMANN'S MYCENÆ.—I.\*

THE eager interest with which Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenæ have been received, not merely by scholars but by educated people generally, is a fresh testimony to the strong hold which Homer and the Homeric heroes have kept upon the popular mind. The previous discovery of Troy, still buried in its own ashes, made less than its due impression owing to the scepticism of scholars, not yet entirely abated, as to the possibility of identifying with Homer's Ilium any one of the five cities which Schliemann found piled on the hill of Hissarlik. But no sceptic has ever doubted that the massive fortress with its guardian lions which has stood on the hill of Mycenæ since the earliest dawn of history, was the home and the citadel of Homer's Agamemnon. The further question whether Homer's Agamemnon was, in the last analysis, a human being or a "Solar power" who "rescues the Dawn from the grasp of the Chief who has taken her away," has never disturbed the vast majority of those whom the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' have directly or indirectly reached. Ever since Dr. Schliemann telegraphed to the King of Greece in November, 1876, that he had discovered the tombs which tradition called those of Agamemnon, Cassandra, and the others who were slain on their arrival from Troy by Clytemnestra and her lover Ægisthus, and had found in them "immense treasures," sufficient in themselves to fill a large museum which would be the "most wonderful in the world," the work of excavation at Mycenæ has been watched with unabated interest. An account of the principal works of art and the human remains which were

brought to light during the first few weeks has been given in the *Nation*, Nos. 601 and 603. These first announcements, alike astonishing and bewildering, were confirmed and supplemented by the later reports; but while we were dependent on Schliemann's own letters for our knowledge, it is not surprising that some allowance was made for a discoverer's enthusiasm and exaggeration. But independent testimony to the importance of the disclosures soon came in, especially after Mr. Newton, of the British Museum, had visited Greece and returned satisfied with what he had seen; and now Dr. Schliemann's large and elegant volume has brought the treasures before our eyes by more than seven hundred excellent illustrations, and confirmed the original impression that an archaeological discovery second in importance to none since the finding of Herculaneum and Pompeii has been made upon the famous hill of Mycenæ.

It is true there are some things in the execution of this elaborate work which might have been improved. For example, we wish that the relation of the lithographed "Ichnography of the Royal Tombs in the Agora" (p. 124) to the larger "Panoramic View of the Excavations" (p. 148) were more clear, and that in the latter plan it were possible to make out with certainty any of the important objects of interest (besides Mrs. Schliemann in the foreground). It is provoking, after studying so extensive a plan, to be told that "the four sculptured *stelæ* are hidden behind the large standing slab, just in front"; and then to hunt in vain for the unsculptured tombstones in the belief that "two can be seen to the right, on the side of the entrance to the Agora" (which has no visible entrance), "and two more on the side (?) of the two horses" (when there are at least four horses at some distance apart). Again, we could wish that the weight as well as the size of the more important gold objects had been indicated; now we are left to judge by occasional intimations that they are "massive" or "thick." Perhaps the best information on this subject is that given by Mr. Gladstone in his Preface (p. xxxvi.), when he says that the gold treasure buried with the bodies in the first tomb weighs about 100 lbs. Troy, and is nearly equal in value to £5,000. But we would not seem ungrateful towards a work which, after all deductions are made, offers us a truly regal wealth of illustration.

One of the most interesting topographical discoveries is that of the circular Agora of Mycenæ, just within the Lions' Gate of the citadel. This was surrounded by two circular rows of stone slabs, slightly inclined inward, and covered with horizontal cross slabs, thus forming a continuous bench on which the people or the elders could sit when they were summoned by the king to an assembly within his gates. (For Homeric and other references to an agora of this nature see pp. 125, 126, 338, 339.) Within this circle five tombs were opened, in all of which were found treasures of precious metals, works of art, and human remains. The First Tomb was distinguished by the great amount of its treasure, including (as stated above) about 100 lbs. Troy of gold, although one of the three bodies there buried had been plundered of its ornaments in ancient times (as Schliemann thinks) by means of a shaft sunk from above. The other two bodies in this tomb had their faces covered by "massive" gold masks, represented on pp. 289 and 333. Seven of these remarkable masks have been found, one having the face of a lion (p. 211), a second (p. 199) supposed by Schliemann to have covered a child's face (though there appears to be no other evidence of the child's existence), and five with human features wonderfully delineated. These last are believed by Schliemann to be portrait masks, representing the actual faces of the deceased. This discovery opens a new chapter in archaeology, and it would be difficult at present to suggest a better explanation. The only mask preserved without serious mutilation covered the face of the man who was buried at the south end of the First Tomb (p. 289); this shows a face of which even a "Jove-nurtured king" need not have been ashamed. The man who wore it, however, like a true veteran of Troy, mostly crumbled to dust before he could be photographed, leaving only a few bones which are "unusually large." But the body at the north end of this tomb was "wonderfully preserved under its ponderous golden mask," with its "round face" and "all its flesh," and with "thirty-two beautiful teeth," which led "all the physicians" who saw it "to believe that the man must have died at the early age of thirty-five." This body was squeezed into the space of 5 ft. 6 in., and since the man was "of large proportions," as is shown by his large thigh-bones, this squeezing had pressed his head into his breast, so that the top of the head was almost in a line with the upper part of the shoulders. The whole body, moreover, had been pressed to a thickness of 1 in. to 1½ in. By chemical aid it was mummified and carried to Athens. This wretched object, however, was once a king of men, if we may judge by the royal state in which he was interred. The choicest treasures were selected to do honor to his burial. A golden

\*Mycenæ: A Narrative of Excavations and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns. By Dr. Henry Schliemann, Citizen of the United States of America; Author of 'Troy and its Remains,' 'Ithaque, le Péloponnèse et Troie,' and 'La Chine et le Japon.' The Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Maps, plans, and other illustrations, representing more than 700 types of the objects found in the Royal Sepulchres of Mycenæ and elsewhere in the Excavations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.





shoulder-belt, 4 ft. long and 1½ in. broad, lay across his loins, with the fragment of a double-edged bronze sword attached to it. A "massive golden breast-plate," 15½ in. long, and 9½ in. broad, covered his breast, and the gold mask (p. 333) covered his face. Two bronze swords, with handles richly plated and ornamented with gold (p. 303), lay by his side, and a golden tassel (p. 304) was doubtless attached to one of them. Near by lay eleven bronze swords, one 3 ft. 2 in. long, with ornaments of gold. Among the articles of value in the tomb were 340 gold buttons, most of which were richly ornamented; five large gold cups, four silver cups, and a silver vase 2 ft. 6 in. deep and 1 ft. 8 in. in diameter (see pp. 308-332). Besides the five tombs within the circular Agora, a sixth was afterwards discovered outside of the Agora, but within the Acropolis; this contained no human remains, but treasures and works of art, among others the "marvellous" gold signet-ring pictured on p. 354 and elaborately described in pp. 354-359. It must be, indeed, more marvellous than beautiful. Four sculptured "tombstones" and various fragments of others, together with five plain slabs, were found early in the excavation; three of the former Schliemann thinks were part of a sepulchral monument built over the First Tomb (p. 337). Over the Fourth Tomb was found a circular monument of Cyclopean masonry, open at the top like a well, which Schliemann calls a "funeral altar."

Most readers of this volume, we suspect, especially those whose interest comes more from curiosity than from archaeological tastes, will find themselves (perhaps unwillingly) chiefly engrossed with the obvious question whether Dr. Schliemann has actually unearthed, after a burial of thirty centuries, the remains of Agamemnon, Cassandra, and the other victims of the fatal banquet with which Ægisthus and Clytemnestra welcomed the victors of Troy home to Mycenæ. Schliemann's narrative is full of intimations that he felt a growing confidence in this result as he proceeded; and even Mr. Gladstone cautiously says (p. vi.) that it seems as though "the balance of rational presumption might ultimately lean" towards this belief. Perhaps the most remarkable argument in this direction on the slenderest evidence is reported by Mr. Gladstone. He has just mentioned the piteous tale told by Agamemnon's ghost in the 'Odyssey' at his famous meeting with Ulysses (which may fairly be considered the latest authentic news from the King of Men), and his complaint that Clytemnestra left him dying and refused even to close his eyes and mouth in death, and adds (p. xxxvii.): "Singularly enough, Dr. Schliemann assures me that the right eye [*i.e.*, of the body which was preserved], which alone could be seen with tolerable clearness, was not entirely shut; while the teeth of the upper jaw-bone did not quite join those of the lower"! We look in vain for any indication that the learned statesman winked either eye when he wrote this or when he heard it from Dr. Schliemann.

There is, however, a question infinitely more important than that of the identity of these human bodies with those of Agamemnon or Cassandra, which indeed must be settled before the latter can be intelligently discussed; we mean the question upon which the archaeological value of the treasure of Mycenæ chiefly depends—to what age are the works of art and other relics found in these six tombs to be assigned? Fortunately, this question admits of an answer which is, on the whole, definite and satisfactory. There was one period, and only one, in the traditional and historical existence of Mycenæ, when such regal entombments as these could have been possible. If this consideration carries us far back into legendary times, it can do no more than the walls and Lions' Gate of Mycenæ have done long ago. Mycenæ boasted no common human origin. Perseus, son of Zeus and Danae, was its reputed founder. His son and successor, Sthenelus, allied himself by marriage with the new royal race whose power was fast spreading over the land. Nicippe, the new queen of Mycenæ, was daughter of Pelops, "the Lydian stranger," whose vast wealth, brought from his father's gold-mines, soon made him the foremost man in the country. Pelops was grandson of Zeus, and his wife, Hippodameia, was granddaughter of Ares. Mycenæ, with the rest of Peloponnesus, soon came under the dominion of the Pelopidae; and Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon are said to have reigned there as kings of that powerful dynasty. Under Agamemnon, according to the universal tradition, the glory of Mycenæ was at its height. No grander homage could be paid to the majesty of the King of Men than is found in the 'Iliad' (ii. 100-109), where the poet says that the sceptre upon which Agamemnon leaned when he addressed the Achaean host was made by Hephæstus and given by him to Zeus himself, then given by Zeus to Hermes, and by Hermes to Pelops, from whom it descended to Agamemnon. The Trojan war marks in tradition the era at which the royal house

of Mycenæ felt so secure in its position, entrenched in its rocky fortress, that it could summon its vassals from all Greece for a war of foreign conquest. The wealth of Mycenæ at this period was as famous in story as her power. No other city in Greece was distinguished in Homer by the epithet "rich in gold"; and as her walls still testify to her strength, so the vast subterranean vaults, which in ancient and modern times have always been held to be hiding-places for treasures, bear witness to her enormous wealth. The treasures which such costly buildings could have been designed to protect must themselves have been of immense value. We have, therefore, the best of evidence in the shape of stone walls to support the legends which make Mycenæ the centre of power and the centre of wealth in Greece in the pre-historic period described by Homer, to which the great kings of the race of Pelops belong. But with the triumph of the Trojan war the traditional glory of Mycenæ suddenly ends. The terrible tragedies which stained the palace of the Pelopidae, multiplied and magnified by poets and by the accumulated traditions of many centuries, are a part of the stories of civic convulsions which historians and poets alike ascribed to the strain of the Trojan war. It was the universal belief that the descendants of Agamemnon never fully recovered their ancestral dominion even over Peloponnesus, before the great revolution known as the Dorian invasion swept away the heroic monarchies and brought nearly the whole peninsula under the rule of a new race of Greeks. The history of Mycenæ after this is short and uneventful. We know little more than is told by Strabo, who says (viii. p. 372): "After the Trojan war, when the empire of Agamemnon was broken up, Mycenæ was humbled, and especially after the return of the Heracleidae. These subjugated Peloponnesus and expelled the former rulers, in consequence of which the new possessors of Argos held Mycenæ as a dependency." This is what we should suppose to have been the fate of Mycenæ, from the absolute disappearance of so noted a city in history and tradition and from the growing importance of Argos. Finally, in 468 B.C., the Argives captured and destroyed Mycenæ, for the honorable offence (as we are told) of sending eighty men to join Leonidas at Thermopylæ twelve years before. From that time nothing is known of Mycenæ except from the description of its ruins given by Pausanias about 170 A.D. Dr. Schliemann finds evidence, which appears to be conclusive, of a later Greek settlement on the site of the ancient city (p. 63); but these later inhabitants must have been unconscious of the treasure which was buried beneath them, and they certainly cannot be suspected of having contributed to its increase.

The earlier and only glorious part of this story of Mycenæ is, of course, largely fabulous, and we are here dealing with demigods and not with common mortals. But our argument requires us to admit merely that this mythical period, full of famous names and immortal deeds, was a time when powerful princes, whose seat of empire was the citadel of Mycenæ, held dominion over the Argolic land, and that this dominion was brought to an end by the invasion of a new race and the establishment of new governments, under which Mycenæ was neither the seat of a royal house nor even the principal city of Argolis. This invasion, though surrounded by mythical incidents and based upon a mythical claim, must still be acknowledged to stand at least on the threshold of authentic history; for the change from the Achaean civilization described in the Homeric poems to the Dorian life, as it is found in historic times, is a fact too obvious to be questioned. When now excavations in this citadel disclose buried treasures such as no other ancient city has ever yielded; when these treasures are used solely in giving magnificence to the entombment of certain persons who are clearly of the highest rank and dignity, persons whom it is absurd to think of as living in the provincial town which Mycenæ became in the historic period; when, further, it is impossible to believe that such an amount of treasure could have been suffered to remain in a dependent town by the Dorian rulers of Argos, unless it had previously been consecrated to the memory of departed heroes; the conclusion seems irresistible that these treasures and the royal personages with whose remains they were buried all belong to the great heroic age before the Dorian invasion, the age which has heretofore been known to us only by the traditions of the families of Perseus and Pelops, and others equally mythical, by the romances of the Trojan war, and last, not least, by the solid testimony of the walls and gate of Mycenæ—the age, in short, of which Homer sang, and to which Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, Menelaus and Helen, Nestor, Achilles, Diomed, and Ajax all belong.

There are other and somewhat independent grounds for assigning the treasures of Mycenæ to the heroic age. The whole tendency of the Dorian race was to repress art and the higher civilization, and to sacrifice the

elegancies of life to military discipline and gymnastic training. We know the Dorians chiefly through the Spartans, of whom Plutarch says ("Inst. Lacon.", § 4) that they learned to read and write because they needed it but banished all other education as they did foreigners. The race cannot have been very different in other places; and though Mycenæ may have been partially exempt from Dorian influences by its secluded position, it cannot, on the other hand, have offered any such encouragement to domestic art as would produce works like those now discovered. Still less can Dorian Mycenæ be suspected of any such foreign trade as would import from abroad either the works of art themselves or foreign workmen who could execute them. On the other hand, when we pass the barrier of the Dorian invasion, though we are beyond the bounds of historic knowledge, we are in a region in which the Peloponnesian fables are full of foreign voyages, and the people appear familiar with foreign works of art. The names of Hercules, Perseus, Prometheus, Io, Danaus, Pelops, Menelaus, all suggest wanderings or migrations. Every reader of Homer is familiar with the works of art with which the Achæans are constantly assumed to be acquainted, and many of these are stated to be works of foreign artists. We mention only the breastplate of Agamemnon, which was a gift of the king of Cyprus, who had heard the fame of the great Achæan and the news of his armament against Troy (Il. xi. 19-22); Helen's silver work-basket with golden edges, which moved on wheels, and her golden distaff, both gifts of the wife of Polybus, who lived in Egyptian Thebes; and the two silver bath-tubs and two tripods which Polybus gave with two golden talents to Menelaus (Od. iv. 125-132). The magnificence of the dining-hall in the palace of Menelaus, which strikes Telemachus with astonishment (Od. iv. 71-75), and the whole style of the hospitality with which Telemachus and his friend are entertained in Sparta (ibid., 43-58), show a refinement and an elegance of living which were entirely unknown to the Dorian successors of Menelaus. Attention has repeatedly been called to the resemblance of the pottery found at Mycenæ to that brought to the British Museum from Ialysus in Rhodes; this city had in its territory a settlement named Achæa, founded by "Children of the Sun"; and at the time of the Trojan war (according to the Homeric Catalogue) it belonged to the dominion of Tlepolemus, son of Hercules, who was an exile from Peloponnesus, and who sailed with his army to Troy in aid of Agamemnon (Il. ii. 653-657). Curium, in Cyprus, where General di Cesnola has recently found the treasures which are now in this city, was a colony of Argos (i.e., Peloponnesus), according to tradition; and the king of Cyprus mentioned in the 'Odyssey' (xvii. 443) is called a son of Iasos, a name famous in Argive legends. Fabulous as all these stories may be, they are historical so far as they show a race in Peloponnesus whose traditions are full of maritime enterprise and adventure. Surely no such legends could have clustered round a race of Dorian kings.

#### TWO CALVINISTIC MINISTERS.\*

THE impression produced by the first of these books is a vivid sense of the power and compact organization possessed by the Calvinistic Church in New England. Its roots struck so deep in the political and social existence of past generations, its powerful metaphysics so trained and strengthened the minds of its adherents, it required and it produced such a strength of conviction and such a power of endurance, that it fitted them to be citizens of no mean city; and it is nowise a figure of speech to say that the Westminster Catechism produced the American Revolution. What did cold and hunger and poverty matter to a man whose entrance to a near heaven was secure to him as the threshold of his own meeting-house? What heed was he likely to pay to Orders in Council, or any government but of his own choosing, who had fought the battle of freedom and foreknowledge, of election and depravity, and found his own peace in the "covenanted mercies"? They were not agreeable or tolerant or perhaps *tolerable* individuals, but they were capital material to make a state out of. They burned their neighbors with composure for the greater glory of God; they looked forward hopefully to the heaven whose transparent floor should enhance their joy by the sight of the torments provided for sinners and unbaptized infants; they accepted fully the statement that few should be saved: the pleasant things of life disappeared where they lived—but what modern creed will furnish us with such an enduring fibre?

Dr. Woodbridge was a worthy successor to the powerful and pitiless

men who made Northampton and the beautiful region thereabout the headquarters of pure Calvinism. He was born in Southampton in 1784, and had on both sides an ancestry beginning in England as dissenters and continuing here as strong Calvinists. The matter of his descent, like a good deal of the book, is confusedly stated, but we make out that he was the seventh John Woodbridge in a direct line. As a very young man he lived a fair life, and began early to study law. His mother and a friend were earnest in his behalf, and are characterized by Mr. Clark as follows: "Those wrestling mothers! A scene for a painter!" At twenty-six years old, in 1810, he had been "converted" during a revival and was settled in Hadley, where there was but one church, and the parish and the town were coterminous. There he remained for twenty years, administering orthodoxy pure and undefiled; fighting the perilous "New Divinity," which taught that attendance on the Lord's Supper was a means of grace; training the farmers, who formed a large portion of his parish, "to think, to discriminate, so that they understood the distinctive difference between Sabellianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, Unitarianism, as well as the more modern forms of error from German rationalism." How many of our readers are competent to that? At Hadley, according to Mr. Clark, "sometimes gathering into his grasp masses of inspired truth, he hurled them with herculean strength"; here he made pastoral visits, when, calling up each member of the family, "he spoke to each one in regard to their soul's interest in the presence of the others"; here he "preached all day long on the Deluge"; here he refused to concur in the ordination of those whom he found unsound on the cardinal points of "God's absolute sovereignty and man's freedom, and, notwithstanding his absolute depravity, his full responsibility."

After twenty years of this life he accepted a call to the Bowery Church in New York. This church had sunk into a truly shocking condition. "Doing seemed to have been thought of more importance than believing," and both attendance and money were scanty. Dr. Woodbridge was not the man for the place, and left it after six years' vigorous application of orthodoxy to their spiritual and temporal needs, tried two other places, and finally returned to Hadley in 1842 to take charge of a part of his old parish. Here he worked fifteen years longer, consistently setting forth everlasting punishment, and endeavoring to "alarm the sinner and awaken the weeping solicitude of the Christian." After his wife's death the old man went to live with his children in Chicago, and died in 1869 in his eighty-fifth year, a strong and upright man whose convictions one may respect without sharing them.

Dr. Kirk's biography is in marked contrast to Mr. Woodbridge's. The times change, and we change with them, and Dr. Kirk, though holding suitable opinions on death and damnation, was by nature more inclined to persuade than to threaten. He was of Scotch descent, and, like Dr. Woodbridge, began with the study of law. In March, 1822, a friend persuaded him to call on Dr. Spring, whose directions were: "Leave your law-office. Go to your room. Determine never to leave it except as a Christian or a corpse." The result of three days of this regimen was a satisfactory "conversion," and young Kirk entered the Theological School at Princeton in a few months. He was first established in Albany, where there was a *split* in the Second Presbyterian Church, and the Fourth Church was organized under his ministry. It met in an old hall in a poor part of the town, and "the first sign of the influence of the church upon the community was manifest when people began to paint their houses and fences."

Here, as elsewhere throughout his life, Dr. Kirk was a firm believer in revivals, accepted their machinery and trusted their results; and Mr. Mears says "the methods of Moody are substantially those of Dr. Kirk." After eight years' work at Albany he went on a long visit to Europe, whence, it must be confessed, his letters are singularly uninteresting, but where he gained a facility in speaking French to which his friends allude with an almost awe-struck admiration. Two or three years were spent, after his return, in assisting sundry revivals and preaching here and there with great acceptance, until, declining many other calls, he came to Boston to organize the Mount Vernon Church in 1842. He preached here for thirty years to a devoted and admiring congregation, using the accredited formulas but bringing a power of facile oratory to their exposition which made him a successful and renowned preacher. He says of himself, "I aimed at reaching the emotions, and shall while I live," and his personal gifts of voice and presence were effective aids. He was popular, attractive, and successful; if there were severe trials in his life, if he had any mortal liabilities, they do not appear in the biography, and a certain lack of human interest inevitably follows.

\* "The New England Ministry Sixty Years Ago. A Memoir of John Woodbridge. By Rev. Sereno D. Clark." Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1877.  
"Life of Edward Norris Kirk. By David O. Mears." Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co. 1877.



## HILLEBRAND'S FRANCE UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE.\*

THIS work could scarcely have appeared more opportunely—in the midst of a fresh struggle between the powers for evil and the powers for good in France, and on the eve of a victory for the latter. The present volume treats of the first seven years of Louis Philippe's reign, or, as Hillebrand aptly calls it, the "storm and stress" period of the bourgeois monarchy. At first sight the reader might be disposed to think seven hundred pages a too liberal allowance of space for seven years; but the author assures us that the remaining volumes will be planned on a smaller scale, and pleads the necessity of introducing in the initial volume all the characters and starting all the springs of action. This he has done with the exception of the philosophical and clerical movements, socialism, and finance, which are to find a more appropriate place in volume second. Both plan and execution, we are persuaded, will meet with hearty approval.

Prof. Hillebrand is evidently no friend to the philosophic treatment of history. He inclines, we think, too much to the opinion that the historian who depicts political leaders at work, who sums up results and assigns to them immediate causes, has done enough. For such a conception of the historian's functions there is at the present day a certain transitory *raison d'être*. It is the symptom of a reaction against the excessive tendency to generalize and to philosophize at the risk of sublimating conscious political action under self-appointed leaders into mere ethnic psychology. So far as the author's treatment is a rejection of ethnic fatalism and a vindication of the claims of the personal element in politics, we can only wish him success. But Hillebrand is too clear a thinker not to be willing to admit that there are such things as national character, inherited instincts, limitations imposed upon every leader by his age and his associates, and that it is a part of the historian's duty to exhibit the vital structure of the past under light that has been, so to speak, carefully polarized. There is all the more danger of misunderstanding the recent past because it is recent. No cultivated reader is likely, for instance, to misjudge the temper of the age of Louis XVI. The *ancien régime* has acquired for us sharply-defined outlines and permanent colors. But who shall depict for us the age of Louis Philippe just as it was, and shall make clear to us how nearly it resembles our own, and yet how radical the difference? Who, indeed, unless the professed historian? And that Hillebrand has not attempted it, has not even considered it his duty to make the attempt, is a defect which we regret all the more because of our conviction that he is eminently qualified for precisely such a task. The author of "*Zeiten, Völker, und Menschen*" has given too many proofs of his skill at generalization and close analysis to plead exemption.

On the other hand, judged from his own point of view and according to his own plan, Hillebrand has executed his work in a masterly manner. Free from all verbiage, all high-sounding phrases, without a trace of that air of superior wisdom and apocalyptic virtue which has infested most German writers since 1870, he treats France and French politics with the kindness and sympathy of a friend who is afraid neither to praise nor to blame. It is easy to read through the lines and perceive that Louis Philippe is not the author's ideal. In his eyes the burgher-king is a hopeless compromise between divine right and popular sovereignty, a station on the road to Caesarism on the one hand and a true republic on the other. Yet Louis Philippe is dealt with fairly, and his many good qualities obtain ample recognition. Hillebrand's ideal, so far as he can be said to have one, is unquestionably Casimir Périer. In fact, the first three hundred pages are little more than a warm tribute to the memory of the great Frenchman who piloted the ship of state through the stormy years 1831 and 1832, and made Louis Philippe's reign a possibility. No one can read these pages without conceiving a high admiration for Périer, so energetic, so clear-sighted, so loyal to his principles and his country, so prematurely cut off. Next to Périer, Talleyrand comes in for the largest share of praise. There is something almost touching for its quaintness in the character of the veteran diplomatist, a relic of the *ancien régime*, unable to shake off wholly its prejudices and traditions, yet never failing to repress them when the real interests of France demanded the sacrifice. Those who are specially interested in Continental politics will do well to compare Hillebrand's treatment of the Belgian imbroglio and of the chief actor on the Belgian side, Van de Weyer, with Laugel's account in his '*Grandes Figures Historiques*.' The two authors do not disagree, but they present the subject from different sides. No less interesting and valuable are Hillebrand's portraits of Lafayette,

Guizot, Thiers, and Broglie. The true strength of Thiers and the organic weakness of the other three are shown clearly and justly. The vibrations of parliamentary life, the portentous looming-up of the fourth estate, the romantic and fatal episode of the Duchess of Berry, the first appearance of Louis Napoleon on the stage at Strasbourg, the several *attentats* upon Louis Philippe, the shameless demagogism of the republican press—these and all the other factors in the internal life of the nation are set forth in a manner that evinces the author's careful study, his thorough mastery of details, and his accurate sense of proportion.

In respect to his judgments upon the foreign relations of France during these seven years Hillebrand enjoys a double advantage. In the first place, he has had access to German and Italian archives containing the reports and other confidential communications from the various foreign representatives in Paris to their home governments. These reports embody occasionally facts hitherto unpublished, but their chief value consists in the new light they throw upon the motives and conduct of the French leaders, and upon the varying phases of opinion in the capital. A notable instance of secret history thus brought to light is the account of Broglie's famous circular rescript, excepting Piedmont from the so-called "non-intervention" policy, and the *démentis* to which it gave rise (see pp. 552-555, and especially the notes). The duke's convenient faculty of forgetting is exposed in anything but flattering colors. The tergiversations and intrigues of Louis Philippe himself are also laid bare. The despatch of October 18, 1833, from Baron Werther, Prussian Ambassador, to Ancillon contains an extract from an alleged secret memorandum dictated by Louis Philippe to his private secretary (quoted p. 558, note) which, when connected with the cipher instructions to the frontier prefects and to the division-commanders at Metz and Châlons, and with the pretensions of the French representatives at Frankfurt and Turin, renders it highly probable that the king was at that time busy with the scheme of a Rhine and South-German confederation under the protectorate of France. We cite this passage, partly to show the author's fulness and partly to justify our previous strictures. If there be any one point more than another calling not merely for statements but for explanation, in every French history written since 1870, it is precisely this "Spuk" of an alliance between the minor German States and France against Austria and Prussia. It sounds to us in this year 1877 so much like a chimera that the historian is under obligation to show how it was a sober possibility, in the eyes of Frenchmen at least, in 1833, and even as late as June, 1870.

In the next place, the author is not a Frenchman but a German. His familiarity with French life and ways and character is too great to require our commendation, yet he himself remains a disinterested and impartial observer. His tone is throughout friendly to the real interests of France. He is incapable of taking a chauvinistic pleasure in the mistakes and misfortunes of a rival nation. He evidently shares the belief, although he does not publicly express it, that a strong and united France is a necessity to Europe—no less, but no more, a necessity than a united Germany or a united Italy. His manliness and perfect good sense are among the most attractive features of his work.

*The Cyclopædia of Biography: a Record of the Lives of Eminent Persons.* By Parke Godwin. New Edition. With a supplement, brought down to August, 1877. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878. 8vo, pp. 821 and 332.)—The first edition of this book appeared in 1851; the second in 1866, with a supplement by George Sheppard; who is the author of the new supplement we are not told. We reviewed the second edition at the time of its appearance, and pointed out a large number of errors and other shortcomings. None of even the most glaring errors to which we called attention has been corrected in the original parts of the work, the first 821 pages appearing now, so far as we can judge, without the alteration of a letter: George Washington, for instance, is still stated to have been born in Fairfax (instead of in Westmoreland) County, Virginia, and Prince Poniatowski to have fought bravely in "1812, 1813, and 1814," though he "was drowned in attempting to cross the Elster" at the close of the battle of Leipsic in 1813. None of the notices omitted has been inserted, so that this "comprehensive" record of eminent persons again gives—to use our former words—"all the Artaxerxeses, but no Xerxes; all the German Conrads, but none of the Othos, Maximilians, or Leopolds; all the English Henries, but neither William the Conqueror nor William of Orange; all the French Charleses, but none of the Philips, not excepting Philip Augustus; a number of Spanish Alphonsos, but no Philip, not even the Second; all the Turkish Achmets, but no Mohamed (Sultan), Solyman, or Selim; no Attalus, Herod, Ptolemy, or Seleu-

\* '*Geschichte Frankreichs von der Thronbesteigung Louis Philipp's bis zum Falle Napoleon's III.* Von Karl Hillebrand. Theil I. Die Sturm und Drangperiode des Juli-Königthums, 1830-1837.' Gotha: Perthes; New York: Westermann. 1877.

cus," etc., etc. Nor does this unaltered condition of the original work much surprise us, considering the amount of alterations in the old plates required to fill up the gaps and obliterate the mistakes. What surprises us is the coolness with which the preface to the edition of 1866 is, without the change of another word, made to be a preface dated "Riverside, August 29, 1877," and, though *nothing has been supplied*, to repeat these words: "In the present edition an attempt has been made to supply the few notable names that had been omitted." The separate statement concerning the "Supplement," however, is correct, since that has really been made "copious," being more than doubled in extent. The new matter in it is also on the whole incomparably better than the old, and it is to be regretted that side by side with a large number of readable and generally correct notices of persons of all countries, now added, the poorest titles of the "Supplement" of 1866 have been left standing in all their deformity. Thus, on the same column which contains twenty-three lines on the banker Mirès we find this notice of Poland's greatest poet, Mickiewicz: "Mitzkievitch [*sic*], Adam, a Polish poet and professor of the Slavonic language [*sic*, sing.] in the college of France. D. 1855"; and directly after twelve lines on Abdul-Aziz, the following biography: "Abdul-Medjid, Khan, sultan of Turkey, b. 1822; d. 1861." We are not even told when the poet was born or when the sultan ascended the throne. Priessnitz reappears as "Pressnitz," and Nakhimoff as "Nachimoff." Oscar I. of Sweden, Frederic William IV. of Prussia, and Maximilian II. of Bavaria, whom the compiler of 1866 forgot to enter, are also forgotten in 1878, while Frederic William of Hesse-Cassel and Leopold of Lippe, both of whom died in 1875, are duly, or unduly, recorded. Slips in the new matter are much rarer than in the old. We have noticed, among others, the following: Freiligrath is entered as "Freilegrath"; his death is forgotten; so is the birth of Napoleon III.; Benedek, the vanquished of Sadowa, is noticed, though falsely reported dead (the book contains no living persons); "1847" stands for 1848 as the year of revolutions, in "Ferdinand I."; and "September 21" for September 20, as the date of the battle of Chickamauga, in the notice of General Thomas.

*Foreign Classics for English Readers.* Edited by Mrs. Oliphant. "Voltaire." By Colonel Hamley. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 12mo, pp. 204.)—There is no author more worthy than Voltaire to form one of a series of foreign classics. He not only stands in the first rank of

literary merit among the writers of his nation, but is in every respect an author very characteristic of his nation. Nor is he eminent in literature alone, but is one of the small class of purely literary men whose literary career is an historical event: for however great or small may have been his direct influence in producing the French Revolution—a question which Col. Hamley leaves undecided—there is no doubt that he is the most prominent representative of that tendency of the French mind in the eighteenth century out of which the Revolution grew. But there is another even stronger reason for conferring this honor upon him, viz., that probably no writer of equal eminence in all history has been the object of such violent and unmerited abuse. Col. Hamley has appropriately begun by recalling to memory the unreasoning obloquy with which Voltaire's name was covered in his own time and for many generations after—a feeling which found suitable expression in Dr. Johnson's doubt whether he would rather sentence Voltaire or Rousseau to transportation in the plantations. From this beginning it would not be possible at the present day that a candid review of his life should not, on the whole, have the aim of vindicating his character and influence. His own words (p. 186) in reference to the church which he rebuilt at Ferney with the inscription *Deo erexit Voltaire* are most significant: "The church that I have built is the only church in the universe that is dedicated to God alone—all the others are dedicated to saints. For my part, I would rather build for the master than the valets."

It is not that Voltaire is made out to be a perfect character, any more than an author of the highest rank. He shared in both respects the limitations of his nation and his age. As a man he was not in advance of the society in which he lived; nor, certainly, was he below its standard. As a writer he produced works which we are glad to read at the present day, but which nevertheless nobody need feel himself much the poorer if he has never read. If he is the highest name in French literature, it marks the essential inferiority of French literature that there is not one of his writings which ranks among those which every educated man must know—by the side of "Hamlet" and "Faust" and the "Iliad." Probably to most persons this little volume, which is excellently edited, contains all of this great man which they will care either to read or to know; but the strongest impression gained from it will be that he did a real service to the world in behalf of humanity, a service for which the world has only just begun to be grateful.

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